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ABSTRACT

Social studies education in 22 countries is described. The purpose of the publication is to stimulate international communication and cross-cultural study among practitioners in different countries. The introduction to the report discusses issues related to social studies education and to international communication. Common concerns, curriculum approaches, educational practices, and methods are outlined. Significant differences are noted in terms of national wealth, quality of school life, attitudes toward the legitimacy of social persuasion and social activism, and inattention given to individualization of instruction and specific learning difficulties. Common problems include defining the scope and nature of social studies, the lag between new knowledge and teaching, curriculum innovation, assessment and examinations, development of intercultural curricula, and information retrieval. Existing communication efforts in research, program development, and professional associations are also discussed. Following the introduction, social studies education in each country is discussed. The countries include: Australia, Brazil, Britain, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, South Korea, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Tanzania, the United States, and Zambia. The basic format presents the social environment, the educational setting, an overview of social studies education, curriculum descriptions, and school organization. (KC)

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LEARNING TO LIVE IN SOCIETY

Toward a World View of the Social Studies

Edited by

Richard E. Gross and David Dufty

SO 012 177

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Contents

Preface/*James E. Davis*..........v

Foreword/*Richard E. Gross*..........vii

1. Social Studies Around the World: We Are Not Alone/*David Dufty in collaboration with Richard Gross*..........1
2. Australia: Education for a Multicultural Industrialized Society/*David Dufty*..........27
3. Brazil: Social Education by Decree/*Rosemary G. Messick*..........37
4. Britain: A Time of Transition/*Lewis Spolton*..........47
5. Canada: Looking to the Schools for Answers/*Frank Simon*..........59
6. China: The Molding of the Good Chinese Citizen/*M. Eugene Gilliom*..........75
7. Costa Rica: Changing Needs in a Changing Society/*John E. Searles*..........93
8. Denmark: An Era of Growth and Change/*Peter Stigsgaard*..........103
9. Federal Republic of Germany: The Progressives vs. the Conservatives/*Christoph Wulf*..........119
10. Guatemala: Underdevelopment in Schooling and Society/*Eduardo Navas*..........131
11. Indonesia: Putting a Philosophy Into Action/*Numan Somantri*..........137
12. Israel: Shaping a Political and Social Image/*Ada Moshkovitz*..........143
13. Japan: Tradition and Change/*Teruo Omori*..........153
14. Kenya: From Foreign to Indigenous Control/*Stafford Kay*..........161
15. Papua New Guinea: A Climate of Emerging Nationalism/*Ian Whelan*..........175
16. Philippines: Moving Away From the U.S. Model/*Michael Locsin*..........187
17. South Korea: Centralization and Conformity/*F.J. Hunt*..........199
18. Soviet Union: The Promotion of "Correct Thought"/*Raymond McHugh*..........207

19. Spain: Education for Living Together/*Luis M. Villar*..........221

20. Sweden: The Evolution of Civics Education/*Birgitta Granell, Arne Lindquist, and Erik Wallin*..........233

21. Tanzania: Education for Self-Reliance/*David Court*..........239

22. United States: Confusion, Restructuring, and a Slow Reconstitution/*Richard E. Gross*..........257

23. Zambia: Building a Commitment to National Unity/*Anne Sikwebele and Ado Tiberondwa*..........269

Related Resources in the ERIC System..........281

Preface

The title chosen by the editors of this volume for their introductory chapter--"We Are Not Alone"--probably reflects the reaction that many U.S. social studies educators will have to reading this survey of sociocivic education in 22 countries all over the globe. In multifarious ways, riding or bucking various trends, we are all trying to accomplish the same goal: to teach our youth what we think they need to know in order to live productively and responsibly in their societies.

Therein lie our many commonalities. Our perhaps equally pervasive differences arise from the vast differences between and among--and often within--those societies. No educational system exists in a vacuum. Social, economic, and political pressures; religious and cultural values; history, heritage, and tradition--all these factors play a part in shaping the educational system that each society holds to be ideal for preparing its youth.

The 22 countries treated in this book range from the underdeveloped to the highly developed, from infant nations struggling free of their colonial cocoons to those whose political and social systems have been firmly in place for hundreds of years. The amounts and kinds of resources available for educational purposes are equally varied across nations. Perhaps most striking, in terms of disparity, are the polar differences in basic educational philosophy--on the one hand, that the primary purpose of public education is to fulfill the potential of the individual and, on the other, that the main goal of education is to serve the state.

As the volume editors point out in the Foreword to this ambitious compilation, their intent was not to paint a comprehensive picture of social education worldwide but rather to begin what they hope will be a continuing and expanding dialogue. We are pleased to play a part in this effort to help social studies educators around the world understand each other--and ourselves.

James E. Davis

Associate Director, Social Science Education Consortium

Associate Director, ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education

Foreword

In San Francisco in November 1973, at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, the editors made a presentation on "Toward a World View of the Social Studies." We solicited feedback on the idea of establishing international communication in the social studies, and the response was very favorable. Suggestions were made to exchange textbooks, professional publications, and other resources as well as to arrange for tours and exchanges for teachers themselves in various countries. As a result of that lecture and the response, we decided to produce a book so that others could share in the idea of international communication and cross-cultural study in the social studies. We decided to begin this volume with an updated version of our original presentation, which appears as our introductory chapter.

We have both traveled widely since 1973 and worked for periods of time in some of the countries treated in this book. However, in compiling this volume we have avoided editorializing or inserting our own views in the chapters on individual countries, even when our opinions were somewhat divergent from those of the authors.

What follows is not a comprehensive analysis of world trends in the social studies but rather an attempt to stimulate interest and inquiry, to provide a base for opening up a dialogue, and to encourage closer communication between social educators in different countries. From our reading as well as our international contacts, it is evident that we and our colleagues all over the globe increasingly share concerns about socio-civic education. The social studies curriculum area is recognized as being intimately linked to the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and actions that are ever-more imperative for the furtherance, let alone the preservation, of many worthy aspects of civilization throughout the world. The social studies promote insights and qualities which foster mutual human understanding, wise decision making, and civic participation.

In attaining such goals in any nation, the contribution of education will be furthered if educators make concerted efforts to address certain basic professional issues. Although there are differences within as well as between various countries in regard to these issues, it seems clear that any kind of global unity in the field of social studies will have to await some degree of congruence on these points as well as the relaxation of political differences between nations. We need to attempt to resolve, for example, the problems of:

--Defining and delimiting the scope of the social studies.
--Agreeing on purposes, goals, and priorities.
--Selecting the most appropriate content.
--Identifying the most effective structure and organization for instruction.
--Enabling teachers to effectively use strategies and approaches that are issue-, skill-, and value-centered.
--Reaching and involving learners.
--Convincing others of the basic importance of the social studies.

We realize that our travels and contacts, while widespread, did not necessarily yield a representative or balanced list of countries in terms of size, population, geographical region, type of government, or kind of school system. For example, some nations that recently gained independence continue to reflect their colonial heritage while others have largely eliminated such carryovers from the past. Indigenous aspects central to one country's program of social education may be largely missing in another. However, we did attempt to solicit contributions from varied countries and regions of the world so as to provide a balanced selection of conditions and practices. If a country was deemed especially important but we could not obtain a native author, we recruited a contributor who had visited, taught in, or studied in or about the country.

Unfortunately, several of the authors who initially agreed to write chapters found it impossible to deliver as promised. Factors ranging from serious illness to revolution, in addition to unstable or dynamic political situations, also contributed to the final selection of countries reviewed in this volume.

The diversity of conditions and variety of systems described in this volume reflect the still-uncrystallized condition of the field of social studies worldwide and illustrate certain emerging trends which, in some cases, seem to run counter to one another. Taken as a whole, these differences underscore the need not only to communicate but also to make some progress toward eliminating some of the key differences which prevent the field from solidifying. By so doing, we would enable a statement about social studies to have meaning across cultures and boundaries.

A volume such as this takes several years to organize and assemble. By the time of publication, what with the rapidity of change that exists in the world, it is more than possible that some of the contents may be dated. Although we asked the authors of individual chapters to submit revised manuscripts reflecting changes that have occurred since 1973, this was not always possible, and several chapters undoubtedly include descriptions which are not longer current.

It is also important to recognize that, in spite of having been provided with a suggested outline for a common approach, the chapter authors (being creative and independent individuals) did not submit uniformly or consistently organized chapters. Variations in conditions in different countries contributed further to the difficulty of producing a volume that might be used as an accurate comparative tool.

Finally, we hope that the reader will keep in mind the major intent of the editors: to provide an opening gambit for an international dialogue on the social studies. To this end, we trust that our efforts will prove to be fruitful and productive.

Richard E. Gross
David Dufty

Stanford, California, USA
Sydney, NSW, Australia
September 1979

1. Social Studies Around the World

We Are Not Alone

By David Dufty
(in collaboration with Richard Gross)

> *"In educational activities, anything designed to help man live at peace with himself, anything which draws him out of unhappy isolation and loneliness, also helps towards harmony among the peoples."*
>
> *UNESCO,* Learning To Be *(1973)*

It was an exciting experience to take a taxi through the back streets of Katmandu and finally locate, at his home, a fellow social educator whom I had met some years before at a conference in Australia. Although our cultures were very different, we had a great deal in common, and we could share our dreams and problems. We knew that we were not alone in struggling with the extremely challenging tasks facing social educators around the world today.

While visiting a secondary social science project back in Melbourne, I was shown an interesting unit on communication. There were studies of animal communication, nonverbal communication, and various other aspects of communication. I pointed out that another social science project in Sydney had been working on a remarkably similar unit. Later, I visited a science education project in Melbourne. The developers thought I'd be interested in their new unit on communication (which, although it was unknown to me, by now had a very familiar ring to it). I subsequently discovered that English-language educators, primary social studies teachers, and mass-media educators in Australia were working on similar projects, and during visits to other countries I found various other groups working on the same topic. Consider the irony: dozens of groups working to develop units on communication, and no one in communication with anyone else!

The phenomenon described above is often referred to as "reinventing the wheel." A more-neutral term might be *polygenesis*, or inventing the same thing in different places--which may be contrasted with cultural diffusion, or the spread of ideas from one place to another. I don't wish to suggest that there is no value in people working on the same problem in different places, nor would I wish to see countries with the time and money for educational innovation impose their ideas on other cultures, albeit with good intentions. However, I do consider that the history of science, technology, and medicine has demonstrated the importance of the mobility of knowledge, and I am suggesting that problems related to education for social living are of equal importance to--and, of course, allied with--problems of the natural sciences.

Adequate communication does not ensure a better intercultural view of the social studies, but at least allows for the possibility that such a perspective might be attained. From this perspective, we may come to realize that there are ways of doing things other than our own. Had we developed such a perspective, we might have avoided the cultural imperialism of the colonial period or resisted the temptation to impose our own systems of social education on different countries (as happened during the U.S. occupation of Japan). We might have attempted to analyze and improve our own education systems without indiscriminately adopting textbooks and techniques from foreign cultures.

Who Communicates With Whom?

Nations are not the only social units that are appropriate subjects for comparative studies in education. Within each nation there are usually state or local differences, and there can be sharp differences in the social education received by people in various socioeconomic, ethnic, sex, religious, and special-interest groups. Furthermore, cultural ties extend beyond national boundaries; one can note elements of supranational macrocultures--horizontal communities of people who probe similar issues and who discuss similar concepts even though their day-to-day languages differ. The community of astronomers throughout the world might be an appropriate example.

In traveling through other countries I have consciously sought out my "opposite numbers," and I have, after some difficulty, found people who face much the same problems and who are trying out sometimes similar, sometimes unique, ways of solving these problems. I refer to that community of people who are concerned with the task of educating human beings to grow in their understanding of themselves, their interpersonal relationships, the sociocultural groups of which they are a part, and the world in which they live. Such growth incorporates not only knowledge but also values, attitudes, and skills in social living. This group of people includes elementary and secondary teachers of history, geography, political and economic studies, and integrated social science courses. It includes university educators in the social science fields and curriculum specialists in district and state education departments. But it also includes many citizens and parents who are concerned about what Johnny learns about social living.

The UNESCO publication quoted at the beginning of the chapter perceives education as "learning to be." The book you are now reading is concerned with developing an international, intercultural, worldwide perspective, on "learning to live in society"--a broad and vital part of "learning to be." Our titles does not imply that we believe that individuals must conform to existing society--they may well want to transform contemporary society. Whether one wishes to preserve or to transform a culture, however, one needs to know one's self and one's social milieu and to be able to function purposefully in this context, as Paulo Freire has so forcefully argued and demonstrated.[1]

To understand and change one's own society it is probably necessary to know something of other societies as well. A major purpose of this book is to help readers better understand their own systems of social studies education (whether discussed here or not) as well as to understand other systems, to be aware of cultural diversity within nations and of intercultural differences between nations, and to move toward a world view of social education based on a genuine interest in common problems faced by people throughout the world.

Can We Agree on Name and Scope?

Science and mathematics educators from different countries readily recognize each other. Art educators already have a world association. But what do you call the community of people mentioned above?

In the United States there is a long tradition of "the social studies," and social studies educators have some sense of identity. However, as the authors of a recent publication of the National Council for the Social Studies observe, "the field of social studies is so caught up in ambiguity, inconsistency, and contradiction that it represents a complex educational enigma. It has defied any final definition acceptable to all factions of the field."[2]

This kind of uncertainty about social education exists all over the globe. In visiting my counterparts in other countries, I often began by saying, "I am a social studies educator." The following responses were typical:

"Do you mean social science education?"

"We don't teach social studies in this country."

"I am a geography teacher, and I am opposed to social studies courses."

"Social studies concerns the training of social workers; try the next building."

"What do you mean by 'social studies'?"

"So am I. Happy to meet you."

Thus, even in English-speaking countries, reactions ranged from misunderstanding and suspicion to warm acceptance. The problem was much more difficult when translation was involved. For example, in Sweden two different terms seemed to qualify as possible translations of the term *social studies: hembygdskunskap*, which could be translated as "social orientations" (or, literally, "home-side knowledge"), and *samhällkunskap*, or "knowledge about society."

The term *die gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Fächern* used in the German Democratic Republic, which could be translated as "social science subjects," has counterparts in other countries. In Glasgow there is a "Center for the Social Subjects"; in New South Wales, Australia, the term *the social studies subjects* has some usage.

In the United Kingdom, many terms are used to refer to various ways of studying society, among them modern studies, environmental studies, humanities, social studies, integrated studies, general studies, social science, political studies, sociology, and world studies. In addition, the traditional subjects of history, geography, and economics continue to play a major role in schools in Great Britain; these are clearly distinct from integrated social studies courses.[3]

In the United States, history has traditionally been considered the "leading" member of the social studies. Geography, on the other hand, is perceived by some educators in the USA, Britain, and Australia not as belonging to the social studies but rather as a unique subject area, partly social and partly physical, which is of value as an intellectual discipline and not only as social education.[4] The wide influence of the broadly conceived High School Geography Project has probably helped to bring geography education in the United States closer in aims and methods to other forms of social and environmental studies.[5] Similarly, the Schools Council projects in the United Kingdom have probably helped in modifying perceptions of history and geography as entirely separate fields of knowledge and methodology.[6]

Canada has a Canadian Association for the Social Studies, a group that roughly corresponds in interests, if not in influence, with the U.S. National Council for the Social Studies. Their English counterpart, the Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences, is narrower in its concerns and certainly does not speak for history teachers, who have their own organization. England also has a Political Studies Association, and economic educators also form separate groups in England, the USA, and Australia. Because of the complexity of the situation and occasional conflicts between subjects and associations, it is very difficult in these countries to justify an overarching concept of social studies education.

At a symposium of curriculum planning held by the European Council in 1972, the term *the human sciences* was used in reference to social studies.[7] UNESCO also makes considerable use of this concept, mainly in regard to the academic disciplines.[8] The even broader term *human studies* is another possibility in the search to find a word that refers to general education in learning to live in society.[9]

Social education is used by the U.S. National Council for the Social Studies as the title of its journal, yet the term seems so broad as to cover the whole field of "socialization" as conceived by sociologists.[10] *Social science education*, on the other hand, seems rather too narrow a term to some people and unacceptable to many history teachers who see themselves as part of the humanities tradition. *Citizenship education*, sometimes used, implies content that is narrowly political in scope, although some people perceive the term as including much beyond the responsibilities of the social studies--as being closer to the concept of general sociocivic training, emanating from all aspects of the school experience that have to do with the socialization of children and youth. Although the term *sociocivic education* perhaps incorporates the analytical and normative aspects of the study, it is rather awkward and has little current usage.

There does not seem to be a feasible solution to the problem of nomenclature. Even multiple terms *(studies of persons/cultures/world* or of *I/thou/we/they/us)* create problems of scope and usage.[11] On the other hand, the editors (and probably most of the authors) of this book can see the utility of an overarching concept of the social studies as well as the growing awareness that this subject area represents a common field of human endeavor and a growing community of specialists. Perhaps we should not prejudice its growth by arguing for too long over what to name the child.

What Are Some Common Concerns?

If a growing horizontal world community shows some signs of emerging in our field of endeavor, what common interests, values, aims, and behavior patterns are found in this community of interests?

Few researchers or writers have addressed themselves to these questions. (Vincent Rogers, in his insightful study *The Social Studies in English Education*, performed some valuable comparative analyses, and readers might well look at the methodology of the book, although the examples are now dated.[12]) Adequate research might involve observation on the basis of such continua as those used by the Social Science Education Consortium of Boulder, Colorado, in its *Curriculum Materials Analysis System*. The framework shown in Figure 1a was included to suggest that many criteria are needed in cross-cultural studies, that countries would probably be scattered broadly along continua rather than

12

at extremes, that the position of any country might sometimes swing from one extreme to the other, and that the whole business of setting up criteria could be very dubious and involve all kinds of cross-cultural value judgments.

The following comments about common concerns are based partly on observation, partly on reading, and partly on points raised in the other chapters. They are largely intuitive statements (or, at best, very tentative hypotheses), and the reader is most welcome to challenge them.

Common Ideals

Perhaps because of the continuing work of UNESCO and other U.N. agencies, there are common ideals to be found in social studies courses in the many member nations of the United Nations. There is widespread emphasis on such broad ideals as citizenship education and education for international understanding. The proclamation of the International Year of the Child, in 1979, highlighted the value and rights of the individual. Environmental education has had a strong worldwide influence, encouraged by the United Nations and by other supranational agencies, such as the Club of Rome.

Multiple aims, including both cognitive and affective objectives, are frequently stressed in the social studies, perhaps as a result of the widely known work of Benjamin Bloom and his associates. The behavioral objectives movement has also influenced a number of countries to attempt to keep abreast of perceived changes in educational thinking.

Common Gaps Between Ideals and Reality

Even though a United Nations declaration of human rights may be affirmed by a national government, many violations of rights may occur within that country. Similarly, in schools, ideals may not be congruent with reality; equal consideration may not be given to the rights of every child.

Visitors to another country are often directed to outstanding or "model" schools (as occurred when this writer visited China) and thus obtain a very unbalanced view of the education system. A random sampling of schools in any country is likely to reveal great differences between wealthy schools and poor schools, innovative schools and average schools, and official policies and local realities. Educational policies in Islamabad, Pakistan, do not seem to coincide with practices observed in schools in faraway Sind.[13] Even in the USA there is clear evidence that the "new social studies" did not have the widespread impact that was expected.[14]

The authors of a 1971 study of international civic education pointed out that "the widely held objective of producing loyal, informed, critical and actively participating democratic citizens was *not* successfully attained in any countries in this study."[15] In some countries (e.g., Israel and the USA) the investigators found strong support for the central government but below-average support for democratic values; in others (e.g., the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany) there was strong support for democratic values but below-average support for the central government.

Figure 1a

SOME POSSIBLE DIMENSIONS FOR STUDYING THE SOCIAL STUDIES CROSS-CULTURALLY

1. Epistemology, Structure and Content

Phenomenological viewpoint dominant among scholars	Positivist viewpoint dominant among scholars
Common sense accepted as a major source of social knowledge by curriculum developers	"Knowledge must be grounded in the academic disciplines" viewpoint held by curriculum developers
Teachers have confidence in the community and their own experience as sources of knowledge	Teachers accept scholars and disciplines as major resources of knowledge
Integrated courses predominate	Subjects predominate
Stress on electives and plurality of knowledges	Accepted core of basic knowledge and skills

2. Organization

Decentralization of authority	Centralization of authority
Curricula developed at school level	Curricula centrally developed
Nonstructured and nonsequential curricula	Highly structured and sequenced curricula
Pluralistic sources of textbooks	Uniform national textbooks

Assessment at school level	National or state external examinations

3. Aims and Values

Emphasis on the values of the individual	Emphasis on the values of the group
Emphasis on pluralistic values	Emphasis on consensus and on national statements of values
Emphasis on international and global values	Emphasis on nationalism
Emphasis on affective and aesthetic goals	Emphasis on intellectual and cognitive goals

4. Methods

Emphasis on small-group and individualized learning	Emphasis on large-group instruction
Emphasis on student inquiry	Emphasis on teacher presentation
Many varied resources used	Limited range of resources used

Common Fluctuations

China certainly demonstrates fluctuations very clearly. Both the USSR and Japan have experienced periods of reaction to progressive education, and a conservative reaction is currently apparent in a number of countries in the Western world. The "back-to-basics" movement has been strong in the United Kingdom, with its Black Papers,[16] and in the United States, with its emphasis on testing of basic competencies; Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have also been strongly influenced by these ideas. The impact of these trends on the social studies is difficult to gauge, but one effect seems to be a movement back to separate disciplines.[17] In the early 1970s the picture looked quite the opposite, with such countries as Sweden and England moving toward integration by introducing courses in "social orientations" and environmental studies.[18]

While visiting Hong Kong in 1978 I was shown an outline of a common-core syllabus in social studies,[19] but in mainland China the stress was on world history, world geography, and political education.

In Australia we have been affected by the fundamentalist reaction to Man: A Course of Study (MACOS), Jerome Bruner's famous (or infamous) integrated curriculum. Conservative critics of MACOS and an Australian project, SEMP (Social Education Materials Project), have advocated a return to chronological history and even to "capes and bays" geography.[20] Although their numbers are very small, their voices have been loud--largely because of the amplifying power of modern news media. Politically, they have succeeded in banning the use of MACOS in state schools in Queensland.

In a 1978 report, which was based on a survey by inspectors of schools in England, history and geography are discussed as separate subjects, and stress is placed on chronological sequence and geographical skills.[21] In the forthcoming *UNESCO Sourcebook on the Teaching of Social Studies*, Stanley Wronski confirms that history and geography remain the most prevalent separate subjects but points out that they have been influenced by other disciplines.

Common Curriculum Concerns

Some issues inevitably arise in discussions of education across cultures. How do you teach children to be good citizens rather than disenchanted or delinquent? Teachers in the USSR raised this question. Chinese leaders fostered rebellion during the cultural revolution, but during my visit in September 1978 their main objective was to keep students working hard at their studies. Moral education is a major concern in both Britain and Japan. In the United States there is much talk of values education and citizenship education.

Education for national unity is a concern in many countries, especially those still reacting to the colonial era. Canada, with its Canadian studies,[22] can in this respect be linked with Pakistan and its Pakistan studies,[23] as both countries struggle with identity problems.

Many countries put a high priority on instilling respect for different ethnic and minority groups. China has a major interest in her minority groups. The United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, and Singapore all emphasize pluralism in culture and religion. A 1978 World Council of Churches seminar looked closely at racism in textbooks.[24] The considerable impact of the women's movement

16

in many countries is reflected in efforts to ensure that schools and textbooks afford equal treatment for males and females.

One growing area of interest is education for work, leisure, and social change. This issue is currently of concern primarily to the industrial nations, but it will surely affect developing countries in the near future. Such concepts as "coping," survival, and living skills are being discussed in a number of Western countries, and new emphasis is being placed on career education and work experience programs. Future studies and studies of the impact of computers and the "information explosion" are appearing in programs and courses in many countries.[25]

Common Approaches and Methods

While it is probably true that the "banking" concept of putting knowledge into children's heads is still widely prevalent--that teacher talk and teacher-initiated questions and answers remain the most common methods of teaching throughout the world,[26] and that the textbook is the major source of information[27]--there are indications that this situation may be changing. Rather than adopting a purely descriptive approach to the social studies, many educators are making considerable use of a problems or controversial issues approach. The Ontario Institute of Educational Studies' Canadian Critical Issues program has made some use of the techniques developed by Oliver and Shaver in the United States. The Humanities Curriculum Project in Great Britain, led by Lawrence Stenhouse, developed its own distinctive approach to controversial issues. Some of the topics commonly investigated are urbanization and industrialization and their consequent effects on environment and quality of life, population problems, problems of underdeveloped or developing countries, and issues related to human rights. There is considerable interest in the issues of global interdependence and conflict. Many organizations and agencies are working to promote the development of international perspectives and concerns in teachers as well as the inclusion of such studies in local and national systems.[28]

Inquiry (or enquiry) and *discovery* learning are common terms in the English-speaking world, although meanings and methods vary. The inquiry approaches to history advocated by Edwin Fenton in the United States are comparable to the detective work advocated in the Schools Council's Project History 13-16 conducted at the University of Leeds.[29] Since the inception of these projects, there has been some negative reaction to inquiry methods as part of the back-to-basics movement discussed earlier. Nonetheless, the ideal remains prominent in many countries, including some socialist and third-world countries. A director of a city school system in the USSR, during a personal interview, endorsed the policy of "making students more independent and active in their thinking, helping them analyze and come to conclusions, working actively with their teachers, as well as the development of a more individualized approach to teaching"; an official directive in Pakistan states that "curricula, syllabi and textbooks will be revised to eliminate overloading, emphasize learning of concepts and skills, and encourage observation, exploration, experimentation, practical work and creative expression."[30]

The use of such strategies as role play, games, and simulation is growing despite some conservative reaction to the dangers of using role-reversal situations with very young children. National and international organizations are linking people with a common interest in simulation in industry, commerce, public services, and education.[31]

Common Approaches to Curriculum Development

Centralized curriculum development is probably the norm, particularly in countries where nation-building is seen as a prime commitment. Major curriculum centers and departments exist as part of the national education system in the capital cities of Moscow, Colombo, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Islamabad, Tokyo, and Peking. Syllabi, standardized textbooks, and other resources are produced centrally and expected to be closely followed in each school. Many third-world countries have educational officials who were trained in Western countries as well as access to advice and assistance from United Nations Development Project teams and UNESCO "experts." The use of both local and imported curriculum specialists contributes to a widespread view of curriculum as something arcane that is handed down from above by those with specialized knowledge.

Many educators who recognize that major differences exist between and within countries and that it is valuable to involve many people in the process of curriculum development have been encouraging an emphasis on school-based curriculum development rather than on completely centralized development. For example, in 1973 Australia established its Curriculum Development Centre, which is dedicated to the idea of school-based rather than centralized curriculum development.[32]

Common Concerns in Teacher Education

Teacher education, both preservice and inservice, faces many common problems in different countries: What kind of undergraduate studies of society can best prepare teachers to teach about society in schools? How can teachers in training acquire adequate experience with the real world of the classroom?

Inservice education is of special importance because of the need to retrain teachers for new concepts, courses, and methods. The Open University in England offers "post experience" courses which symbolize this need for openness to experience. The openness concept is also of interest in other countries that are trying to establish a concept of continuing and lifelong education.[33] Pakistan, for example, is establishing an Open University on the British model. The Institute for Refreshing Teachers in Leningrad and teacher centers throughout England and Australia attempt to help teachers exchange ideas and pursue professional growth.

The need for continuing teacher education remains a problem in all countries. The ambitious James Report in England was not implemented, and there seems to be an institutional reluctance to "release" teachers from teaching, or rather to perceive lifelong learning and curriculum development as basic, normal, and legitimate aspects of the teacher's job.

Common Interest in Others

During my world travels I discovered that people in most countries are interested in overseas trends in social education. I had expected to find an exception to this rule in China, because of its long tradition of isolation and self-sufficiency; however, their current interest in modernization and in learning selectively from the West has changed the orientation of Chinese educators. In the USSR I was pleasantly surprised to find a specialist in the small, far-off education system of Australia.

What Are Some Significant Differences?

Differences and unique features in various national educational systems have become more difficult to identify, as a result of the increasing degree of cultural transmission in education. The major differences are described below.

Differences in Wealth

There remain huge gaps between nations in regard to the resources which are available to them in their attempts to attain their educational aims. For example, curriculum development by teachers is hardly possible if they are teaching two school sessions per day--from early morning to late evening.

There is probably a need for research into intermediate or alternative technologies in social studies education. A game which can be fully explained in a one-dollar teachers' manual is a very different form of technology than a kit of resources costing $500. Keeping a set of large photographs in every school may be preferable to buying an expensive film which must be borrowed from a central media center--if the teacher can obtain a projector, if the film is available when the teacher needs it, and if a darkened room or daylight screen is available.

Many Western projects require too much elaborate equipment to be of widespread value in isolated schools in poorer countries. I went to Pakistan equipped for using slide and overhead projectors, only to find that the former were extremely scarce and that the overhead projector was a prohibited import. I then tried using some inexpensive simulation games and realized that the games were loaded with Western values and that even the concept of using a game as part of education was regarded with considerable suspicion in Pakistan.

Differences in Quality of School Life

Many schools have all kinds of equipment, and yet it is apparent to a visitor that the quality of school life is poor. Staff and students may be apathetic or even in conflict, and there may be little sense of community.

Many readers may know the book *Letter to a Teacher*, which was written by the students of a poverty-stricken school in Tuscany which had such an outstanding quality of life that its students' lives were dramatically changed by their period in that school.[34] I personally visited a rural school near Kandi in Sri Lanka in which all the science equipment was made from local materials, yet the students did experiments that were so impressive that the local university professors came to listen to the students report on their findings. A positive and optimistic spirit seemed to prevail in that school under the leadership of its principal, Leonidas James.

We need many more studies of good schools in order to find out what criteria can best be used to evaluate the quality of school life, just as the task of finding out what qualities mark a good teacher needs to continue.[35] Such studies require clear insights into cultural differences; otherwise some very ethnocentric value judgments may be made about schools and teachers.

Differences in Attitudes Toward the Legitimacy of Social Persuasion

Many countries are still worlds apart in their attitudes toward the role of the state and the legitimacy of social persuasion as a form of social education. In Western democracies, propaganda is generally seen as a bad thing and as being quite distinct from education. In socialist states, and in social systems where national or religious values are given high priority relative to individual or small-group values, social persuasion is perceived as being a legitimate part of the education system. In such countries as Kenya and Tanzania, for example, definite statements of national goals have been formulated, and it is expected that schools will help to educate people toward these goals.[36]

Western textbooks sometimes characterize second- and third-world leaders as "dictators" or make other opprobrious comments based on (often unstated) political or cultural values. A textbook needs to be read and critiqued by people from the country described before it is published; alternatively, the writer should try to explain his or her biases and identify the sources of the evidence used to make generalizations about the country. Very little of this kind of international review of textbook manuscripts seems to be occurring as yet. In Japan, the International Society for Educational Information works to correct such stereotypes and preconceptions. United States educators have also cooperated with overseas educators on studies of accuracy and stereotypes. A 1969 analysis of how texts from 31 other nations treat the history of the United States is quite revealing.[37]

Differences in Attitudes Toward the Legitimacy of Social Activism

At an international conference in Northern Ireland, one Northern Irish delegate suggested that schools in his country were unique because, rather than aiming at bringing society into the school, their greatest need was to keep society out of the school. Such a view is in contrast to the philosophy behind the Parkway School in Philadelphia or the Swinburne Community School in Melbourne, where the goal is to make school and society inseparable.[38] This has long been an aim of many educators in the United States, but there may be a gap between the ideal and the reality.

In Northern Ireland some citizenship projects had to be abandoned because of objections from parents. In Sydney, Australia, projects conducted by ecology action groups in schools have had a surprising impact on specific ecological problems in the community. In New Guinea, the secondary Social Science Curriculum Project has on occasion actually influenced parliamentary legislation. In the Federal Republic of Germany, education for political participation is widely discussed.[39]

Differences in Attention Devoted to Individualization of Instruction and Specific Learning Difficulties

In many countries of the world, because of economic reasons, ideological considerations, or lack of knowhow, little consideration is given to individualizing instruction. In China, for example, there is little recognition of the concept of special learning difficulties. Although special arrangements were made for grossly handicapped students, other learning difficulties were seen as being resolvable by greater student application or better classroom teaching. In some countries individualized instruction means that all pupils do the same thing but work at their own paces. In others, there are varied aims and/or the recognition that different means can lead to the same goal. Individualized instruction, in particular computer-assisted learning, is perhaps a luxury which many nations consider they can not afford until more inexpensive techniques are devised.

What Common Problems Do We Share?

The following uncertainties, problems, confusions, and cries for assistance can be heard from social studies educators in many countries.

The Scope and Nature of Our Task

Our inability to reach a consensus about a term for the field reflects the uncertainty of social studies educators about the scope and nature of our task, despite a common feeling that we are all involved in the same business.

History, geography, government, and, more recently, economics are well-established school subjects, but what about interpersonal relations, religion, morality, mental health, and sex? Are they normal and legitimate aspects of social study? What are the borderlines between science, technology, art, music, literature, and studies of society? Can we drop traditional subject titles and restate the curriculum in terms of broad realms of meaning: "Ecological Survival," "The Search for Personal Values," "Living in an Urban Setting," etc.?

Is the task of the social studies educator a passive one, concerned simply with transmitting a distillation of existing disciplines to young people, or is it an active and creative task that involves not only selecting and reinterpreting existing knowledge but also generating new knowledge? Can students and teachers work together (for example, on a particular social issue) and also work with people in the community who can provide them with insights and understanding about human experience (for example, how to survive mentally and physically during a period of enforced unemployment)?

Should a student of the social studies be concerned not only about product but also about process--how people learn to gather relevant knowledge for social living, utilize that knowledge to live in society, and, if desired, change that society? To what extent should a skills emphasis balance or reduce a content emphasis?

If these are the complex tasks of social studies educators, then everywhere their profile is too low and they need to perceive themselves afresh as a significant body of professionals who need the benefit of international contacts. Such issues point to the need for adequately comprehensive models of the task of the social studies educator, a few of which are beginning to appear.[40]

The Lag Between New Knowledge and Old Teaching

The complexity of the social studies task emphasizes the need for continuing education in both societal and educational studies. Alert educators may read extensively, watch television documentaries, and in some societies travel widely, but they still need to regularize this process by building a process of continuing education into the basic structure of their profession. Teachers need continuous inservice education as a part of their normal duties. They need continuous interaction with social thinkers and researchers as well as with those whose main interest is in educational research.

The British Open University has developed an interesting course, "Understanding Society," which asks such basic questions as "Why do people live in society?," provides five social science viewpoints to help people answer these questions, and uses concepts like socialization and conflict to explore such contemporary problems as the population explosion. These courses reach a wide audience by means of television and written publications, and many teachers are enrolled in them. Whether the teachers are primarily interested in growing professionally and as persons or in improving their qualifications for promotion is an interesting but unresolved question.

The Best Strategies for Curriculum Innovation

There are many institutional restraints on curriculum innovation, particularly in centralized educational systems, and many educators would welcome help in trying to change established patterns of thinking and behavior.[41] Although there is considerable literature on this subject in Western countries, every world situation is unique, and specific sociological studies are required to analyze the innovation process in any particular social and educational setting.[42] Curriculum specialists probably need to seek more advice from students of social change and organizational development. The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation has been very interested in curriculum change, and its workshops have brought together educationists from many countries to share these common problems.[43] The World Council for Curriculum and Instruction, with headquarters at Bloomington, Indiana, is another group that works in this area.

One basic method of innovation has been through research and development projects--usually funded by government sources, perhaps augmented by private foundations--which spend large sums of money to prepare packages of ideas and resources for dissemination, often by private publishers. A large number of such projects were mounted in the United States during the era of the "new social studies."[44] The United Kingdom has had its Nuffield and Schools Council projects. Australia spent some $2 million on its Social Education Materials Project (SEMP). However, the project trend seems to have passed its zenith.

One valuable by-product of such projects was increased interest in evaluation, which is now seen as a basic part of all curriculum efforts. Evaluators cooperate across continents, and there has been fruitful interaction between evaluators in Sweden, England, the USA, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada.[45] Of course, for the many countries who are struggling just to provide basic education, research and development projects are a luxury they cannot afford.

The Problem of Assessment and Examinations

Examinations are a source of anxiety to both students and teachers, and to an increasing degree they are an obstacle to educational freedom, self-determination, and creativity. Reduced job opportunities in this posttechnological age may increase examination and grading pressures even further.

Such professions as medicine and engineering usually have high entry qualifications and limited access to training facilities, thus helping to perpetuate competitive examination systems. University entrance requirements tend to have an inordinate influence on general education in many countries. In some colonial and formerly colonial countries students still take examinations based on another culture; for example, African children have been observed being drilled on England's Wars of the Roses. Such requirements seem inexcusable.

In all countries, educators are struggling with the problem of how to find out whether they are achieving the rather wide range of objectives which they have established. It is one thing to state affective objectives and another thing to measure growth in attitudes, feelings, and social behaviors. There are many "cries for help" on this issue.[46]

The Development of Genuinely Intercultural Curricula and Resources

Many curriculum materials and textbooks are ethnocentric or contain images that are misleading or oversimplified. For example, textbooks from Indonesia, Mexico, the USSR, Malaysia, China, and Japan contain very "sheepy" images of the highly industrialized and urbanized country of Australia. The writers should have consulted Australians when they wrote the books.

Although some interesting elective courses in intercultural studies exist, there is a need for what John Carpenter calls "the intercultural imperative"--a view of intercultural education as an *essential*, not merely an *enriching*, element of basic education.[47]

World travel is becoming a widespread phenomenon. Travel is becoming increasingly possible to formerly remote or closed countries. Satellite television transmission of events grows on an international scale. Such trends create a need for education in intercultural communication, and this field is now attracting increasing world interest and increasing academic research.[48]

The Best Ways to Store and Retrieve Resources

As is the case in other fields of knowledge, the vast amount of information in the social studies is extremely difficult to handle. In the United States, the federally supported ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) system has made a major contribution to this task. The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ChESS) at Boulder, Colorado, is one of 16 such centers which gather and store data and try to keep educational specialists in touch with trends in their fields. ERIC data are now available in Australia, and local resources are added to the U.S. data. However, ERIC/ChESS is by no means a comprehensive international communications network; much activity in the social studies throughout the world is not introduced into the ERIC system. Additionally, because of financial limitations, a number of items from the United States are not yet incorporated into the system, nor has it been possible to enter references from years before ERIC was established.

This large-scale enterprise, which is mainly concerned with information storage and retrieval, is in some ways more manageable than the task facing individual institutions as they try to handle multimedia materials and develop systems for storing information to answer the many questions which students ask during the course of their studies of society. Major university libraries in the United States are still dividing printed matter from audiovisual materials--yet the two are often part of one integrated package. Boxes of useful materials can be found sitting unused in classrooms and libraries in many countries because no one is available to classify them or to make them quickly accessible to teachers.

There is much discussion of resource centers,[49] and some interesting techniques of information retrieval are being devised,[50] but space, staff, and money for managing multimedia resources are still lacking in many schools and colleges, even in rich countries.

The Most Valuable Lines of Research

The United States is probably again unique in the huge number of theses its scholars have produced in the social studies field. While, from a practical viewpoint, there is doubt as to the worth of many of these and other studies (as well as a general uncertainty about the major research needs in the social studies), interested researchers can now review much of this production, in abbreviated form, for themselves.[51] A worldwide survey of research in progress in the social studies would be of considerable interest to researchers for themselves and might stimulate cross-cultural studies on such topics as children's development of social concepts.[52]

What Evidences of Communication Exist?

Communication in Research

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's Civic Education in Ten Countries project is one example of a highly sophisticated study which demonstrates the possibilities, and some of the values, of international cooperation in educational research.[53] After completing a cross-cultural study of children's mathematics knowledge, the IEA entered the difficult area of civic education, an effort which required measuring both the cognitive and the affective aspects of political socialization. Developing an effective evaluation instrument was a major task in itself.[54] Unfortunately, because of limited resources, questionnaires were the only source of data, although the team would have liked to observe classrooms and interview students and parents.

The report of the project accomplishes the difficult task of defining the subject areas cross-nationally. It then discusses the methodological problems encountered in conducting such a survey, provides a picture of students' civic knowledge and attitudes at three age levels, tries to assess the relative impacts of home and school, and then seeks to select particular aspects of school and society and relate them to the affective and cognitive outcomes of civic education.

The findings are based on the responses in 1971 of more than 30,000 10-year-olds, 14-year-olds, and preuniversity students in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States. Although cognitive differences were substantial, civic attitudes were revealed to be strikingly similar across countries. One important conclusion of the researchers was that specific classroom practices were less important than what is often called the "classroom climate." They reported that "more knowledgeable, less authoritarian, and more interested students came from schools where they were encouraged to have free discussions and to express their opinion in class. But students who reported having frequent political discussions with teachers were not necessarily more democratic in their attitudes."[55]

Communication About Development Projects

This is a question of considerable interest and on which much research is needed: Do overseas projects from wealthy countries stifle or stimulate local curriculum development? Do they carry with them the values of the originating culture in an unstated form?

Consider, for example, the MACOS project. It required a huge expenditure to develop, on a scale perhaps only possible in the USA. It was propagated by means of experiential teacher training workshops, and its materials could be sold only to schools where there were accredited teachers. (In at least one case in Australia the concept of its being an "unfinished curriculum" worked very well, and a local MACOS-type unit was produced.[56]) Because of the high cost of the materials, relatively few schools and systems were able to purchase them. MACOS finally provoked a major backlash in the United States from fundamentalist Christian groups who objected to its "humanistic" philosophy, some of its methods, and the use of public funds in its production.

The High School Geography Project (HSGP), another of the "new social studies" efforts in the United States, was different from MACOS. Its designers included people from countries other than the USA. Its subject matter was less controversial. Its diffusion did not require inservice training. Groups in the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Hong Kong, and Finland developed units based on the HSGP materials, and a number of other countries, in which geography was an established subject (among them Australia, New Zealand, Canada, England, Scotland, Brazil, and Singapore), benefited from the teaching approaches modeled in the materials.[57]

The products of the Schools Council in England have also spread to other countries, albeit mainly those with British links. Although MACOS took root in England, the Humanities Curriculum Project could not be transplanted successfully to the USA, nor did it catch on in Australia. Perhaps its materials were too culture specific, or perhaps the British publishing firm did not have adequate distribution outlets abroad; publishers clearly play an important role in the communication process.

Communication in Professional Associations

The United States has an educational infrastructure which encourages state and national educational organizations, conferences, and journals. Other countries do not have such a tradition nor such strong support systems. Furthermore, there appears to be no move as yet toward an international communications network in the social studies.

Dare we suggest the possibility of an international association for the social studies? Possibly the time is not yet ripe, but this fullness of time will only come by ongoing dialogue and research. The initiative probably should come from a group of educationists from a variety of countries, rather than from just one country. Preliminary work would involve making a list of all national associations in the field of social education (including those in history, geography, economics, psychology, and politics), even if they are not yet linked to a common social studies organization within their own countries. A UNESCO-based conference might perhaps be a useful trigger for some kind of linkage of associations and individuals.

UNESCO has already taken an important step toward international communication with its forthcoming sourcebooks on geography and the social studies. Although these books required long and careful planning, they illustrate the possibilities of dialogue and of cooperation in the social studies field.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, 1972).

2. R.D. Barr et al., *Defining the Social Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977).

3. See D. Lawton and B. Dufour, *The New Social Studies* (London: Heinemann, 1973), and D. Gleeson and G. Whitty, *Developments in Social Studies Teaching* (London: Open Books, 1976).

4. D. Shortel, "Whither Geography," *Geography Bulletin*, September 1972.

5. Angus Gunn, ed., *High School Geography Project: Legacy for the Seventies* (Montreal: Center Educatif et Culturel, 1972).

6. See for example, R. Beddis et al., *Geography for the Young School Leaver, Teachers' Guide* (London: Schools Council, 1974), and the report of the History, Geography and Social Science 8-13 Project, Liverpool University.

7. "Human Sciences: Report of the English Speaking Groups" (symposium on Curriculum Planning and Development for Upper Secondary Education, Conseil De L'Europe, 1972).

8. UNESCO, *Learning to Be* (New York: Unipub, 1973), pp. 65-66.

9. Note discussion on this term in D.G. Dufty, "Studies of Society," in *The Teacher's Role in Curriculum Design*, ed. P. Hughes (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972).

10. See discussion of this term in D.G. Dufty, ed., *Teaching About Society* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1970). For a British view see J. Elliott and R. Pring, *Social Education and Social Understanding* (London: University of London Press, 1975).

11. Dufty, "Studies of Society."

12. V.R. Rogers, *The Social Studies in English Education* (London: Heinemann, 1968).

13. See *School Education in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1977).

14. J.P. Shaver et al., *An Interpretive Report on the Status of Pre-College Social Studies Education Based on Three NSF-Funded Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1978).

15. J.V. Torney et al., *Civic Education in Ten Countries* (Stockholm: Alqvist and Wiksell, 1975), p. 18.

16. C.B. Cox and R. Boyson, eds., *Black Paper* (London: J.M. Dent, 1975); "Minimum Competency Testing," *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 1978.

17. J. Scarlett, *Back to Basics: Is Social Studies Included?* (Australia: Wollongong Institute of Education, 1976).

18. K.C. Cotter, trans., *Social Studies in Swedish Comprehensive Schools* (translated from *Läroplan för Grundskolan).*

19. *A Preliminary Guide to the Curriculum for Junior Secondary Forms* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1975).

20. "The MACOS Controversy," *Social Education* 39, no. 6 (October 1975); R.A. Smith and J. Knight, "MACOS in Queensland: The Politics of Educational Knowledge," *Australian Journal of Education* 22, no. 3 (October 1978).

21. *Primary Education in England* (London: Department of Education and Science, 1978).

22. *What Culture: What Heritage?* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968). See also publications of the Canadian Studies Foundation.

23. See publications of the National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks.

24. See "Report of the World Council of Churches Conference on Racism in Children's and School Textbooks," October 1978.

25. One example is the resource kit *Tomorrow: Aspects of the Future* (Melbourne: Education Department of Victoria, n.d.).

26. See M.J. Dunkin and B.T. Biddle, *The Study of Teaching* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

27. Shaver et al., *An Interpretive Report.*

28. H.J. Abraham, *World Problems in the Classroom* (Paris: UNESCO, 1973). Note also the UNESCO project on the Teaching of Contemporary World Problems, July 1971-June 1973, School of Education, University of Zambia; the work of the Institute for World Order and the Center for War/Peace Studies, both located in New York City; and a recent publication of the Management Institute for National Development, *Global Development Studies* (New York: 1973), which includes a comprehensive list of such organizations and agencies.

29. See Edwin Fenton, *The New Social Studies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), and *What Is History?* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1976).

30. *School Education in Pakistan*, p. 5.

31. For example, the International Simulation and Games Association (ISAGNA), the North American Simulation and Games Association (NASAGA), and the United Kingdom's Society for Academic Gaming and Simulation in Education and Training.

32. See the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation report *International Seminar on School-Based Curriculum Development at the New University of Ulster* (1973) and the CDC report *Support Systems for*

School-Based Curriculum Development (Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1978).

33. See *Recurrent Education, A Strategy for Lifelong Learning* (Paris: OECD, 1973).

34. *Letter to a Teacher* (New York: Random House, 1970).

35. See H.P. Schoenheimer, *Good Schools* (Melbourne: National Press, 1970), and *Good Australian Schools* (Melbourne: Technical Teachers Association of Victoria, 1973). Note also the Program on Teaching Effectiveness of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

36. See the Arusha Declaration by President Nyerere of Tanzania and *Humanism in Zambia*, by K.P. Kaunda.

37. See Donald Robinson, ed., *As Others See Us* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969); R.A. Billington et al., *The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding: Report of a Committee on National Bias in Anglo-American History Books* (New York: Hobbs, Dorman, 1966).

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39. *Politisches und Soziales Lernen in Grundschulalter* (Bonn: Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1978).

40. See, for example, the model in R. Fox et al., *A Framework for Social Science Education* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1973). An excellent Australian reference relevant to this section is K. Piper, *Essential Learning About Society* (Hawthorn, Victoria: ACER, 1977).

41. See "Perspective From Germany" in A.M. Gunn, *High School Geography Project: Legacy for the Seventies* (Montreal: Centre Educatif et Culturel, 1972), ch. 3, for a discussion of curriculum change in geography.

42. See G.W. Marker and A. Jwaideh, *Bringing About Change in Social Studies Education* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1973); Emily Girault and R.E. Gross, "Resource Personnel Workshops: A Team Approach to Educational Change," *Social Education*, March 1973, pp. 201-207.

43. See *The Nature of the Curriculum for the Eighties Onward* (Paris: OECD, 1972).

44. J.D. Haas, *The Era of the New Social Studies* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977).

45. See D. Tawney, ed., *Curriculum Evaluation Today: Trends and Implications* (London: Macmillan, 1976).

46. See *Wad-ja-get? The Grading Game in American Education* (New York: Hart, 1971). An extensive recent report of the practices of social studies teachers in this area is found in R.E. Gross and D.W. Allen, "Problems and Practices in Social Studies Evaluation," *Social Education*, March 1967, pp. 207-209. See also K. Piper, *Evaluation in the Social Sciences for Secondary Schools* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976).

47. J. Carpenter and G. Plaza, *The Intercultural Imperative* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973).

48. Note the formation of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, which has developed from the work of the Intercultural Communications Network at the University of Pittsburgh.

49. See N. Beswick, *School Resource Centres* (London: Evans/Methuen, 1972).

50. Note the work of the Leverhulme Research Project on Information Storage and Retrieval at Birmingham Polytechnic School of Art Education.

51. See Roy Price, ed., *Needed Research in the Teaching of the Social Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1963); also letter from Barak Rosenshine in *Keeping Up*, no. 3, March 1971 (a series of occasional bulletins issued by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education); R.E. Gross, "Research Needs in Social Studies Education," *Social Education*, December 1961, pp. 401-402, and "A Decade of Doctoral Research in Social Studies Education," *Social Education*, May 1972, pp. 555-560. The volumes reporting dissertations completed in the field are Walter McPhie, *Dissertations in Social Studies Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1963); R.E. Gross and Leonardo de la Cruz, *Social Studies Dissertations 1963-1969* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1971); J.R. Chapin, *Social Studies Dissertations: 1969-1973* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1974); and P.R. Wrubel and Roosevelt Ratliff, *Social Studies Dissertations: 1973-1976* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1978).

52. One Australian researcher in political socialization has strongly challenged U.S. researchers, but his work is not widely known in the USA. See R.F. Connell, *The Child's Construction of Politics* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971).

53. See W.E. Lambert and O. Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), and other studies noted in the list of further references.

54. This is discussed in A.N. Oppenheim and J.V. Torney, *The Measurement of Children's Civic Attitudes in Different Nations* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1976).

55. Oppenheim and Torney, *The Measurement of Children's Civic Attitudes*, p. 18.

56. M. Simpson, *People of the Western Desert* (multimedia kit published by the New South Wales Department of Education).

57. A.M. Gunn, "The Role of the High School Geography Project in Geographic Education Reform Worldwide" (unpublished report of a visit to 12 countries); G. Niemzi, "The German High School Geography Project" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, April 1978).

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2. *Social Studies in Australia*

Education for a Multicultural Industrialized Society

By David Dufty

David Geoffrey Dufty is senior lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Sydney, Australia, where he also took his bachelor's and master's degrees. He holds a Ph.D. from Stanford University in social studies education. Dufty has taught at several teacher-training colleges and has a number of years' experience as a secondary school teacher, including a Fulbright Exchange in the United States. His prime interest is in the field of intercultural and Asian studies, and he has been director of an intercultural studies project at Sydney University. He has traveled widely in Asia and has served as a consultant in social studies for UNESCO and in several South Pacific and Asian countries. Dufty is author, coauthor, and/or editor of Teaching About Society, The Development Dilemma: Guidelines for Development Studies, Historians at Work: Rediscovering and Recreating the Past, Seeing It Their Way: Guidelines to Intercultural Studies, *and* Japan: Four Frames for Inquiry.

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When traveling in other countries, it is interesting to gather social studies textbooks which make reference to your own country. Books referring to Australia have a distinctive pattern: descriptions and photographs of wide open spaces, kangaroos, sheep, cattle, tribal Aborigines, and finally a reference to modern industry and cities. Books from Asian countries often refer to the "White Australia Policy." Photographs are often of rather ancient vintage.[1]

What is Australia really like? "Reality" obviously depends on one's perceptions of the world, especially those parts with which one is familiar. Tourists are still guided into the "outback" and shown sheep, kangaroos, and Ayers Rock, and thus have their stereotypes confirmed. They will, however, eventually arrive in Sydney or Melbourne, or Perth or Brisbane, and at that point they should realize that Australia is a very urbanized country with considerable secondary and tertiary industry. Computerization and other technological developments are transforming these industries, resulting in a highly mechanized production system--in which, at the time of writing, almost half a million people were unemployed. Rural industries fluctuate greatly in accordance with world markets, but whatever their export value they do not employ large numbers of people.

Few tribal Aborigines still live nomadic lives, although an effort is being made to preserve traditional ways. Uranium has been discovered in tribal lands, with unknown consequences. Many Aborigines live as fringe dwellers in white towns and suffer from white men's diseases and prejudice. Others live in cities; among them are social activists who work for Aboriginal rights through literature, drama, and political pressure.

"White Australia" is no longer the official policy, and there are increasing numbers of Asian migrants, including Vietnamese refugees. However, European migrants have received far more encouragement to come to Australia than Asian migrants. Many new migrants come from non-English-speaking countries; more than 20 percent of all Australians were born overseas, and more than 35 percent of these regularly use a language other than English. To a growing number of people, the major goal for these migrants is not assimilation but the creation of a multicultural society, in which the many cultures represented are mutually respected and their cultural heritages, including languages, are taught in schools.

Traditional ties with the United Kingdom have weakened; links with the USA remain very strong, but Japan is Australia's number one trading partner. Australia's future is also closely tied to relationships with the countries of Southeast Asia. There is substantial investment in Australia by overseas countries and transnational corporations. One still hears talk of a republic, and Australians still experience some confusion as to who they are, where their loyalties lie, and what their future destiny is.

A growing interest in matters other than trade and politics is evident. The Sydney Opera House and the Adelaide and Perth festivals symbolize the interest in all the performing arts in Australia. Nobel-prize-winner Patrick White has made many people in other countries more aware of the existence of an Australian literature; White's work has now been translated into Japanese. The visual arts have a long and varied tradition; music, drama, ballet, and film are all being fostered by federal grants, by the creation of new tertiary courses, and by increased public support. A "Life: Be in It" campaign is being conducted in order to lift the public interest above drinking, gambling, and television watching, which remain major leisure interests.

The Educational Setting

According to the Australian constitution, education is the task of state, not federal, government; local government has no say in education. Because the Commonwealth government controls most taxation and revenue, however, in reality it is extremely influential in education. There now exists a Commonwealth Department of Education along with increasing Commonwealth activity in education.

The Tertiary Education Commission now controls overall policy and expenditures related to universities and colleges of advanced education. A Committee on Technical and Further Education has been created at the national level. The Schools Commission was established with the objectives of bringing about greater equality in Australian education, involving the community in educational programs, and stimulating innovation in education.[2] The Curriculum Development Centre has many important projects in operation.[3] Nonetheless, state government, through state education departments and public boards of education, is still a major force in Australian education. All states have a tradition of centralized education which is drawn from Scottish models but whose development is closely related to such local factors as the dominance of the capital cities and the lack of population in rural regions.

There is pluralism in education, as well as in population; Australia has a strong tradition of private-school education--in particular, a large system of Catholic education. This tradition has been fostered by aid to private schools from Commonwealth funds. Syllabi have traditionally been designed by committees of state departments or boards and handed down to schools for implementation, aided by teams of inspectors. Senior school syllabi have been dominated by university requirements--an influence which has repercussions right down to the primary school.

Education in Australia has changed significantly in recent years. Some freedoms and innovations have actually been stimulated from above; ministers, senior officials, and state boards have made statements about the importance of individual schools' developing their own aims and designing their own curricula, assisted only by departmental guidelines and by advisers from curriculum branches. The degree of change and decentralization varies from state to state, with Victoria the earliest and most "progressive" of the states. The Australian Capital Territory, however, has a new and strongly community-based system under development. "Progressive" trends have stimulated vigorous public debate in Australia, as they have in other nations; there is evidence of a conservative backlash and of a demand for a return to greater emphasis on basic literacy and numeracy and greater use of public examinations.

In September 1975 the Curriculum Development Centre cosponsored a major conference, "Curriculum Development Styles and Structures for Australian Needs," during which major discussion was focused on "involving teachers, parents, and students in the ongoing process of curriculum development." This topic has continued to be a major theme in Australian educational discussions. However, such discussions must inevitably be of merely academic interest, given the country's overwhelming problems caused by technological change and its resulting implications for employment. In Australia, as in other industrialized nations, thousands of young people are leaving school with no job prospects. Vocational training tends to be characterized by rigid selection, and many graduates of professional and technical courses cannot find work. A number of agencies are attempting to help unemployed youth learn how to present themselves to employers and maintain their socialization for the world of work during long periods of unemployment. There is much talk of the need to provide survival and living skills to both students and adults and of the need to make school curricula, social education, and continuing education more appropriate for tomorrow's world.[5]

The Social Studies: An Overview

Australia inherited the traditional studies of history and geography through its British parentage. Moral education and civics were also taught, usually by reference to such great men as the Elizabethan and Victorian heroes who helped establish the British Empire. "Social studies" emerged in the 1940s, primarily via the British progressive tradition. The term referred originally to new integrated courses in primary schools and subsequently to integrated courses in secondary schools. The term *social studies* was never used as a generic term for the social studies subjects, as it has been in the United States, and secondary social studies courses were often perceived as being designed for average or dull students who lacked the interest and ability to cope adequately with the traditional disciplines.[6] These disciplines continued to provide the major bases of the social subjects. Economics was added in the senior school to history and geography, and commerce courses appeared in the junior school--perhaps reflecting a certain pragmatism in the Australian tradition of social education.

In 1967 a significant conference was held in Melbourne, at which there was fairly general agreement on the need for improvement in social education and in particular of the need to introduce new insights from the other social sciences, especially sociology, into the school curriculum.[7] There was some talk of establishing a national association for the social studies, but the major thrust was toward encouraging the various state ministers of education to press the federal government to provide funds for a national social science committee and for nationally funded research and development work in social science education.

After slow progress, the National Committee on Social Science Teaching was created. The NCSST sponsored workshops, commissioned research projects, and published reports and a newsletter. It then launched a major effort known as the Social Education Materials Project (SEMP). Although this project also tried to serve the interests of history and geography teachers, its basic focus was on neglected areas of an interdisciplinary nature: community study, the consumer in society, decision-making processes and government, family, people and change, race and ethnic relations, social control and conflict, and urbanism.[8]

SEMP was an expensive project, costing $1.5 million, and it deserves careful study and evaluation. From the outset there were political problems, since the team coordinator (the term *director* was intentionally avoided) had to work with six state education systems as well as with nonstate schools. Some teams generated considerable community response; others remained relatively inward looking. Because the teams were made up of classroom teachers, there was far less scholarly input to SEMP than was the case with the U.S. "new social studies" projects. When publication time came, problems arose in regard to production and design, and much of this work was completed after team members had moved on to other jobs. Although private publishers were invited to bid for the materials, markets are small in Australia--especially for materials not geared to a particular syllabus. Prices of the SEMP products are high, and the response from schools has not been as strong as anticipated. The evaluation of this project is continuing, and it may provide models for other development activities even if there is some doubt about the marketability of its own products.

Federal money has also been spent on hundreds of small-scale projects and on inservice workshops at the school, regional, and state levels. Grants for such activities have been available from the Schools Commission, the National Committee on Social Science Teaching, and the Curriculum Development Centre. One problem in this regard is that innovations in one school are not adequately communicated to other schools, and in any case it is difficult to replicate an idea without the original inputs of money and creative enthusiasm.[9]

The Curriculum Development Centre, which eventually took over SEMP, also launched ten new efforts in response to suggestions and proposals from interested groups, including teachers' organizations: (1) A multimedia kit on Aboriginal Australians in North Eastern Arnhem Land, (2) a study of children's geographical concepts, (3) a study of the national estate, (4) an electoral education kit, (5) a high school education law project, (6) a "Pacific Circle" project, (7) projects in the field of multicultural education, (8) a consumer education study group, (9) an environmental education project, and (10) a foreign affairs kit.

Meanwhile the various state departments continued to introduce innovations in the social studies subjects. All states have integrated social studies courses at the primary level. Queensland's course owes

38

much--perhaps too much--to the Taba Curriculum Project from the United States. New South Wales has developed a guidelines document based on Piaget and Bruner which puts considerable stress on valuing, feeling, and doing, as well as on thinking. In Victoria there is a strong emphasis on electives and alternatives, and the departmentally developed social studies program is only one of several alternatives. Tasmania is the only state to have developed an articulated social science program which extends from kindergarten through to the tenth grade in the secondary school,[11] but Western Australia is well advanced in planning such a program, and South Australia has recently developed draft guidelines for grades 1 to 7.[12]

At the secondary level the subject-discipline tradition is still strong. Geography has perhaps been the most vigorous of the social subjects in recent years, although some decline has recently occurred in Victoria and South Australia. Geography teachers were the first to form a national association, and the state and national publications of that group reflect the high level of thinking in geographical education and the efforts of geography teachers to show that geography--broadly conceived and well taught--can be a valuable form of social education.[13] There is also a national association of history teachers which has also been active in designing new courses and developing new media in an effort to offset any decline of interest in history as a form of social study.[14] Although history courses have traditionally been oriented toward Western Europe, most states now give some attention to Asian history. Commerce and economics teachers, also very active in Australia, have found some support from the business community, especially in Victoria.[15] There is an Australasian Commercial and Economic Teachers Association, and national trends are evident toward new developments in consumer and law-related education.

Tension still exists between supporters of traditional social subjects and supporters of integrated courses--even in Tasmania and Western Australia, where integrated courses form a core study in the junior high school. At the senior level, geography, history, and economics predominate, although a course in politics is popular in Victoria, and various new courses have emerged in the Australian Capital Territory, which gives considerable autonomy to individual schools. In South Australia, a social education committee is working to ensure cooperation between educators involved in the social studies, health education, religious education, consumer education, career education, legal studies, environmental education, and Aboriginal studies.[16]

One person who has had a significant influence on elementary social studies in Australia is Norman Baker, formerly an inspector of schools in the St. George district of Sydney. Baker, who traveled to the United States in the early 1970s, helped introduce such programs as the Taba social studies curriculum, the Lippitt and Fox Social Science Inquiry program, the Senesh Working World program, and, most significantly, Man: A Course of Study (MACOS). Federal funds have supported workshops for the dissemination of these ideas. Publishers and leading educators from the United States also played an important role.[17]

Although the U.S. programs undoubtedly have helped teachers make their classroom teaching more varied and interesting, their popularity does reflect the lack of initiative on the part of--and lack of support for--Australian curriculum developers. On the other hand, some teachers have been stimulated by these programs to develop their own resources, using some of the theory and techniques of the overseas projects.

Inspired by MACOS, Margaret Simpson, a teacher in Norman Baker's inspectorate, developed a unit on Aborigines, "People of the Western Desert," which was based on careful research and thorough field testing. The unit generated strong negative reaction from conservatives, as MACOS had done in the United States. A number of conservative Australians began an onslaught on MACOS, SEMP, and People of the Western Desert. By the use of skillful lobbying, a group of Queensland fundamentalists succeeded in persuading their conservative state government to investigate both MACOS and SEMP as being dangerous influences. Although there was no comparable response to People of the Western Desert in other states, some conservatives in other states attacked MACOS and SEMP. Further criticism of People of the Western Desert came from some Aboriginal people themselves, although other Aborigines were highly supportive of the unit. Many community and educational groups actively opposed the MACOS and SEMP critics, among them spokespersons of the Catholic church. An education department committee appointed to investigate MACOS in New South Wales found no case for its being withdrawn from schools.[18]

Intercultural and Multicultural Studies

Traditionally, Australian students studied British history in addition to Australian history as a derivative of British history. They also studied the British Empire and were made aware of the "benefits" brought to Africa and India by its heroic explorers, administrators, and missionaries. Students were taught that Captain Cook "discovered" Australia, or at least its east coast, in 1770, and that Governor Phillip commenced the "first settlement" in 1788. They sang "God Save the Queen" (or King), and they were socialized to give their life to help the motherland and to defend Australia from "yellow" and other perils.

Today, students still sing "Advance Australia Fair," and the queen's picture can be seen in many schools, but profound changes have taken place in the curricula. In all states a major effort is being made to ensure that there are intercultural and multicultural dimensions in the curriculum. (The term *intercultural* implies awareness of other ways of life and other world views; it draws examples from many parts of the world, especially Asia.[19] The term *multicultural* implies awareness of the pluralistic nature of Australian society; it requires not only cultural study of the lands from which migrants come but also study of the languages of migrants.) A government document known as the "Galbally Report" specifically states that "every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures."[20]

The emphasis on intercultural studies is illustrated by the creation in 1966 of an elective Asian social studies course in New South Wales secondary schools, partly in response to public demand for the inclusion of the study of Asia in the curriculum. The objectives of this course, which were somewhat foreign to Australian tradition, included seeing Asian history from Asian as well as Western viewpoints, appreciating Asian arts, and learning to communicate with people who are different.[21] After being tested in two schools with sympathetic principals and enthusiastic teachers, the course gained in popularity and is now studied annually by some 20,000 students. The innovation process was facilitated by the support of a group of Australian teachers who had traveled in Asia

40

and by the Commonwealth-sponsored Asian Studies Coordinating Committee, which supported the development of written and audiovisual resources, sponsored language programs, and provided travel grants to teachers. Qantas Airways helped by providing inexpensive audiovisual materials on Asian families.[22]

In 1979 the new impetus in schools is toward instilling recognition of the ethnic diversity of the population in New South Wales and Australia. Cultural studies now extend not only to Asia but also to Greece, Italy, Turkey, Vietnam, and other countries from which migrants have come. Travel grants have been provided for teachers to visit and teach in these countries in order to acquire firsthand knowledge of their cultures and languages. Classes are being offered in many languages; there is much discussion of the importance of language maintenance and bilingualism. Community pressure groups have kept the issues before the public. All in all, the schools are undergoing a gradual process of change, as the old concepts of integration and assimilation are rejected and new concepts of pluralism and interaction take their place.

Concluding Comments

In 1976 the coeditor of this book, Richard Gross, spent a period as a visiting professor at Monash University and visited various parts of Australia. His major criticisms of the social studies in Australia referred to the lack of a full scope and sequence of social studies offerings throughout all the years of schooling and to the lack of structured guidelines in the primary schools. Gross found these deficiencies to be especially evident in the big states of New South Wales and Victoria; Tasmania, Western Australia, and South Australia seemed to have devoted much more thought to scope and sequence in programs of social education.

Gross also pointed out that Australian teachers need to become more fully aware of overseas projects. Even SEMP is still not widely used, probably in part because of the increasing costs of multimedia materials. In Western Australia and Tasmania, many resources are produced by the state governments--a practice which raises questions about the dangers of centralization and conformity.

The products of the Victorian Secondary Social Science Project, although developed by the state education department, are very adventurous.[23] The Victorians also produce an excellent journal, "Study of Society," which is sponsored by the Curriculum Development Centre; this publication is the nearest thing to an Australian national journal in the field of integrated social studies.[24]

As a broadly accepted concept, social studies education still does not exist in the minds of many Australian teachers, despite some efforts to promote the concept.[25] Many geography and history educators seem convinced that, if taught by interested and well informed teachers, these subjects represent adequate social education. At the secondary level, in most states except Tasmania and Western Australia, history, geography, commerce, and economics account for a major part of time spent on studies of society.

However, there is a growing interest in the core curriculum[26] as well as in legal education,[27] consumer education, career education, environmental education, personal development, health education, drug education, and general programs in "living skills."[28] It is clear to many educators that the traditional social subjects are not adequate for social education, and that Australians will need to do a lot more thinking about the nature of essential learning about society in a changing world.[29]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. D. Dufty and F. Chapman, "Japanese and Australians: From a Study in Curriculum Research and Development" (paper presented at the annual conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, May 1978).

2. L.M. Allwood, *Australian Schools: The Impact of the Australian Schools Commission* (Drouin, Victoria: Landmark Press, 1975).

3. For details contact the Curriculum Development Centre, P.O. Box 632, Manuka, Australian Capital Territory 2603, Australia.

4. See R.T. Fitzgerald et al., *Participation in Schools* (Melbourne: ACER, 1976).

5. *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1979).

6. See A. Barcan, *Social Science, History and the New Curriculum* (Sydney: Hicks Smith, 1971).

7. P.H. Partridge et al., *Social Science for the Secondary School* (Sydney: Novak, 1969).

8. See *Teacher's Handbook, Social Education Materials Project* (Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1977).

9. See *National Directory of Innovation Projects Funded by the Schools Commission* (Canberra: Schools Commission, 1977).

10. Profiles describing these projects are available from the Curriculum Development Centre.

11. See *Understanding Society* (Hobart: Curriculum Centre, Department of Education, 1976).

12. *Teaching Social Studies Through Enquiry*, draft edition (Adelaide: Education Department of South Australia, 1978).

13. See *A Handbook for Australian Geography Teachers* (Melbourne: Sorrett, 1977) and the journal of the Australian Geography Teachers' Association, *Geographical Education*.

14. See N. Little and J. Mackinolty, *A New Look at History Teaching* (Sydney: Southward Press, 1977), and the journal of the History Teachers' Association of Australia, *Australian History Teacher*.

15. See G. Burkhardt, *Teaching Economics in the Secondary School* (Sydney: McGraw-Hill, 1976).

16. See *Patterns: A Guide for Curriculum Planners of Programmes in Social Education* (Adelaide: Education Department of South Australia, 1978).

17. The St. George Council for Social Education in Schools now helps to disseminate overseas and locally developed innovations through its journal, *Social Education Bulletin*; for more information, write to W. Wilson, Editor, Milperra College of Advanced Education, Milperra, New South Wales 2214, Australia.

18. *Report of the Review Panel Considering Man: A Course of Study*, (Sydney: Department of Education, 1978).

19. An excellent series of films on this subject was produced by Film Australia, Lindfield, Australia.

20. *Migrant Services and Programs* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978).

21. See D. Dufty et al., *Seeing It Their Way* and *Looking Around Corners* (Sydney: Reed Education, 1975) for a statement of the rationale of intercultural studies as developed by the Intercultural Studies Program at the University of Sydney.

22. The most recent Qantas publications are *India* and *Children of Asia*.

23. See C.B. Tonkin, ed., *Innovation in Social Education* (Carlton, Victoria: Pitman, 1975).

24. The journal of Victorian Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Social Sciences, Hytone House, 534 Swanston St., Carlton, Victoria.

25. See D. Dufty et al., *Teaching About Society* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1970).

26. The Curriculum Development Centre has a task force on Core Curriculum and Values Education.

27. See the products of the High School Education Law Project, published by the Law Foundation of New South Wales and CCH Australia, Ltd.

28. The Curriculum Research and Development Centre, University of Sydney, has recently launched a project in this area.

29. Note the excellent Australian Council for Educational Research publication by K. Piper, *Essential Learning About Society* (Hawthorn, Victoria: ACER, 1977).

3. Social Studies in Brazil

Social Education by Decree

By Rosemary G. Messick

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The interpretation of the term *democracy* in Brazil has created semantic and political confusion. This type of confusion, born of the joining of idiosyncratic meanings with the tradition of centralized decision making, is typical of much of the current social education scene in Brazil. There seems to be a conflict between the centrally decreed educational legislation that defines social education and what is generally said to be desired, understood, and practiced. To better understand this conflict, one must understand the current social environment in Brazil and its traditions.

Social Environment and Tradition

During the last 15 years Brazilians have been helped by the Revolutionary Government, which took office in 1964, to change their national self-image. Ambitious government investment programs in industrialization and national unification have been undertaken. These programs were designed by federal planners and encouraged throughout the country via extensive government-sponsored campaigns. Brazilians no longer see themselves as citizens of the "sleeping giant" or the "land of tomorrow." Many still believe that God is Brazilian and Catholic, but with an almost Puritan twist: They now feel that God will help Brazil because Brazilians are helping their country develop. All levels of society share a nationalism that is the cornerstone of regime maintenance.

And Brazil has changed markedly. Once a stagnant, agricultural/extractive, import-dependent economy, Brazil now has an economy that is diversified and technologically complex. Brazilian businessmen aggressively seek export markets for such traditional agricultural products as coffee and sugar while competing for international markets for newer raw and manufactured products ranging from soy beans and orange-juice concentrate to iron ore and Volkswagen parts. So burgeoning was this economic growth that the country's annual GNP increased more than 10 percent a year for several years in succession preceding the oil crisis. Since 1973 the economic growth has been stymied by climatic disasters in the agricultural sector, loss of balance of trade advantages as a result of exploding oil import costs, and uncontrolled--perhaps uncontrollable--annual inflation rates of from 20 to 45 percent.

While the economy has grown in volume and complexity during the last 30 years, changes in traditional decision-making style are more difficult to demonstrate. Power, in colonial times, rested with the landed aristocracy who, upon gaining independence from Portugal in 1822, continued to be dominated culturally by France and economically by England. Brazil has absorbed heavy immigration from diverse groups--West Coast African tribes bound into slavery during the period from Portuguese discovery in 1599 to English prohibition of slave trade in the 1840s; Italians, Germans, Syrians, Lebanese, and Japanese during the latter 1800s and early 1900s--while maintaining its essential power structure and mode of decision making.

Decision making at all levels has traditionally been autocratic.[1] Emperors (Brazil was an empire between 1822 and 1889), presidents, governors, interventors, and mayors have generally used legislative bodies as rubber stamps to authenticate, when convenient, executive initiatives. During the last 30 years the military, industrialists, and high-level bureaucrats have infiltrated the decision-making ranks, changing the composition of the power elite but not the style in which it functions.[2]

The current ambience is one of economic belt-tightening, political apathy on the part of the majority, and guarded political hopefulness on the partof intellectuals and the bourgeoisie. Labor unions are beginning to challenge the government tutelage used for 40 years to control their influence. Socially, the environment is defined by striking economic differences derived from wealth and family connections and reinforced by paternalistic public and private institutions. Despite the dramatic regional disparities caused by climate and immigration patterns, the difference between the lower class and the middle and upper classes is notable. Nor does this difference disappear with the transfer of population from rural to urbanized areas. A quick picture of this economic difference is revealed by the annual distribution of the GNP: Lower classes, which constitute 40 percent of the economically active population, earn only 9 percent, while the upper 10 percent of the economically active population takes home 48 percent of the GNP.

The Educational Setting

Education, since colonial times, has been used to train elites to fulfill roles of social and political maintenance and to keep the predominant group in power.[3] Even though the 1824 Constitution established free primary schooling, data from 1967 reveal that only an average of 9 percent of the elementary school-age population (7 to 11) was enrolled in school.[4] Only in the Republican era, beginning in 1889, were public federal universities begun. Courses concentrated initially on law, philosophy, and medicine. Elementary education fell to the state to support. Secondary education continued to be overwhelmingly a private effort directed toward university preparation.

During the 1940s, federal funds were used to establish technical/secondary schools in the state capitals and in the more-advanced industrial urban centers of the country's south and southeast regions. The fact that educational expansion at all levels went much further in the richer states than in the poorer ones aggravated the existing regional disparities between the north and south of the country which prompted Jaques Lambert to consider the Brazil of the 1950s as two distinct countries.[5]

The current educational setting in Brazil can perhaps best be characterized as "in flux" as a result of a series of formal, mandated changes complicated by explosive expansion of enrollments. National laws mandate the structure, content, and financing of education. An appointed Federal Council of Education establishes all rules and regulations necessary to implement federal legislation pertaining to education by prescribing such curricular details as the number of hours in the school day and the subjects that must be taught at every level in the system, including teacher training.

Financing and implementation tend to be top-down operations; states are required to submit their educational investment plans to the Ministry of Education and Culture bureaucrats, who check the plans' conformity to federal priorities which have been set by officials of the Ministry of Planning and which tend to favor capital investment projects. Only after a plan is approved at the federal level can the portion of revenues earmarked for education be passed back to the state. States sometimes complain that their revenues have been disproportionately usurped by federal taxes, leaving insufficient sources of funding for their operating budgets.[6]

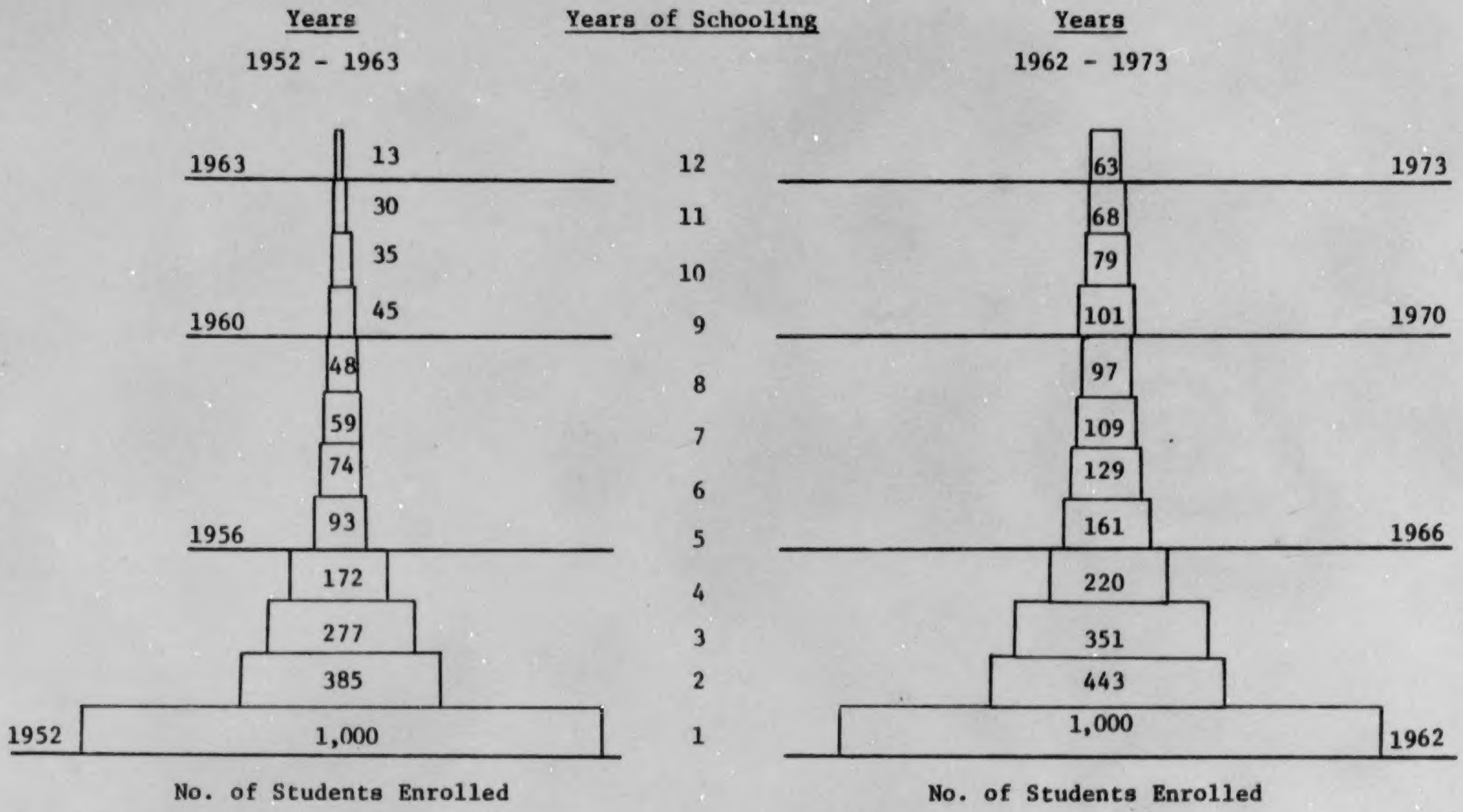
Structural changes decreed by federal laws have prompted administrative and curricular rearrangements at all levels of instruction. The Educational Reform Law of 1971 also provided general curriculum guidelines for elementary education that were to be implemented gradually and interpreted with increasing detail from the state to the municipal levels. A core curriculum of basic subject areas, called the "common nucleus," was designated; instructional arrangement of them was made the responsibility of the states. State and local levels also have responsibility for organizing experiences and studies related to the job market and world of work. Secondary schools have freedom, within federally specified guidelines, to organize vocational and preprofessional courses according to their resources and clientele.

The population explosion has produced a bottom-heavy age-distribution pyramid: of 120,000,000 inhabitants, 50 percent are younger than 15. Massive spending in the 1970s increased elementary school enrollment by 34 percent, with the result that 78 percent of the 7-to-14-year-old population is now enrolled in school (see Table 3a). The pressures on urban schools are tremendous; in São Paulo, Brazil's most-developed state, 157 public schools were operating on five shifts in 1975--a schedule that allowed students only a two-hour school day![7] More typical in the "shift" schools is an arrangement of three shifts per day of three hours each. Night school periods from 7 to 11 p.m. are also offered.

Although more children are going to school, the productivity of elementary education remains, proportionally, nearly static. The dropout/failure rate has remained relatively constant for 20 years, although it has improved somewhat recently; of every ten first-graders, only three or four continue to second grade. The ensuing bottleneck generates planning problems related to age differences. For example, 86 percent of the

Table 3a

COMPARATIVE BRAZILIAN EDUCATIONAL PYRAMIDS



Source: *Situação Educacional do Brasil* Brasília, Ministério de Educação e Cultura/SEEC, Brasil 1975.

country's first-graders are older than 7, and 96 percent of the eighth-graders are older than 14. In sum, a complex set of socioeconomic factors--the population explosion, the official guarantee of free elementary education, urban migration, underemployment, malnutrition, lack of adequate training and salaries for teachers, lack of materials--tends to delimit the learning atmosphere in Brazilian public elementary schools.

Secondary schooling has to run in order to stand still. While from 1970 to 1976 there was 122 percent growth in secondary enrollment, only 9 percent of the appropriate age group (15 to 19) was enrolled in school. The proportion of the age cohort receiving secondary education has not increased since 1970. The most curious phenomenon for education technicians is that the number of students who fail to complete secondary school now nearly equals the number of graduates entering the university.[8] Recent reforms requiring that vocational training be offered in the secondary curricula so far have not transformed the traditional purpose of secondary schooling from preparing students for college to training entry-level technicians; preparation to pass the college entrance exam is still the focus of the majority of secondary school programs. With this tradition in force, it is not surprising that the great majority of secondary schooling continues to be private and expensive.

Table 3b

BRAZILIAN UNIVERSITY GROWTH, 1950-1978

Year	No. of Undergraduate Students	No. of Undergraduate Courses	No. of Graduate Students	No. of Graduate Courses
1950	50,000	n.a.	- -	- -
1960	100,000	n.a.	- -	- -
1965	150,000	1,257	2,400	33
1975	1,000,000	1,396	16,002	420
1978	1,300,000	3,744	31,000	822

Note: In 1975 there were about 60 federal, state, and municipal universities in Brazil. Numbers in the columns for graduate and undergraduate courses refer to colleges or schools which may or may not be part of a university. There are about 175 special public institutions offering single programs.

Source: *Situaçao Atual da Pós-Graduação no Brasil--1977* (Brasilia: Ministério de Educação e Cultura/DAU, Brasil, 1978).

University growth in the last 20 years can only be called rampant (see Table 3b). In 1964, there were 1,257 university-level programs; 12 years later, there were 3,744. They had proliferated so fast and their academic quality was so difficult to control that a federal moratorium was called on the further creation of programs at this level in 1976. Most of the new schools are privately owned and and offer only one or two professional programs. However, federal universities continue to grow and expand with the support of 75 percent of the Ministry of Education and Culture budget.

Such rapid growth, while answering the public demand for greater access to higher education, has created problems. Promoted by government planners who saw university expansions as the way to meet the crying need for scientists and technicians required to implement the ambitious national five-year development plans, growth in specific professional programs was not adequately controlled to respond to job market demands. Thus, while it is true that Brazil now boasts five times more university students than Great Britain and three times more than West Germany, it is also true that Brazilian educational institutions graduate more medical doctors than nurses per year and more engineers than technicians able to provide support services for them. Moreover, some observers are gravely concerned about the adequacy and soundness of the preprofessional university training being given to students.

Social Education: An Overview

One of John Dewey's disciples, Anísio Teixeira, was the first proponent of introducing the concept of social studies in Brazil when he was secretary of education for the Federal District in the early 1930s. Primary teachers in the district apparently accepted Teixeira's argument that young children needed integrated studies that centered on their social and physical universe. Secondary teachers, however, resisted (and continue to vehemently resist) the idea of integrated studies, defending the sanctity of the separation of history and geography and charging that social studies was an American import not compatible with Brazilian tradition.

The U.S. presence has made itself felt since World War II. Human resource training programs, sponsored first by the Point Four programs and later by the United States Agency for International Development, encouraged social studies specialists to define the major objective of the field as the development of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes required to function as a good citizen in a democratic society, in accordance with U.S. practice and consensus. The effects of this training were evident in statewide primary curricula developed during the 1960s and in the national Reform Law of 1971. However, mastery of such basic concepts as time and space was required earlier of Brazilian students than of students in other nations, according to a curriculum analysis conducted in 1967 using five Western European countries and New York State programs as bases for comparison with now-outdated Brazilian primary curricula.[9]

Gymnasium, secondary, and university programs continued to emphasize history and geography until the reforms instituted by the Revolutionary Government beginning in 1969. By presidential decree, every level of schooling had to include moral and civic education in its program.[10] The 1971 Reform Law establishes this subject as part of the common curriculum but prescribes that it must be taught separately, with the intent of reinforcing national solidarity. A later presidential decree identified the following teaching and learning objectives for moral and civic education:

> --defense of democratic principle, through preservation of the religious spirit, dignity of the human person and love of liberty with responsibility under the inspiration of God;
> --preservation, strengthening and projection of the ethical and spiritual values of the nation;
> --strengthening of national unity and sense of human solidarity;
> --veneration of Country and its symbols, traditions, institutions and important persons of its history;
> --improvement of character, with moral support, in dedication to the family and to the community;
> --understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and knowledge of the social, political, and economic organization of the Country;
> --preparation of citizens to assume civic activities with a basis in morals, patriotism and constructive action, with a view to the common good;
> --cultivation of obedience to the law, loyalty to work and integration of the community.[11]

A special national commission oversees implementation of this subject. Programs are organized using the concentric circle approach, starting with the family and school and extending outward to the world. The Federal Council of Education further specified the following behavioral objectives for elementary school:

> --correct implementation of group life, with development of habits and attitudes necessary for good integration and efficient participation;
> --acquisition of notions of responsibilities which, if well fulfilled, grant certain rights;
> --amplification of child's social horizon;
> --opportunity to practice citizenship abilities.[12]

According to present legislation, social education must consist of moral and civic education at all levels and a program of social studies, organized through activities during the first four grades and as a core subject during grades 5-8, in the elementary school.[13] Separate subject treatment of history and geography continues at the secondary level, with the addition of Brazilian social and political organization as the expression of moral and civic education. At the university level, moral and civic education is continued through a course in Brazilian problems.

The Ministry of Education has urged the maintenance of a cognitive emphasis in social studies, so as not to interfere with or absorb the purposes of moral and civic education. A recent analysis of the state social studies curricula revealed that there is no agreement on the objectives of social studies or what social studies is.[14] Most state curricula present the program in a multidisciplinary fashion, following the expanding-horizons model for sequencing. Thus, even though national law mandates the existence of social studies in the elementary school curriculum and stipulates how much instructional time should be spent on the subject, there is no national curriculum to be followed. State curriculum commissions have elaborated social studies curricula that vary greatly in theoretical orientation and format. However, there has been no classroom research aimed at identifying which, if any, elements of these curricula are actually being taught or learned in the elementary schools. Research into social studies achievement is hampered by the lack of standardized achievement tests.

Students' attitudes toward social education subjects are frequently negative. In large part, students' complaints are focused on the required, redundant, and nonrelevant nature of these studies. Such conventional wisdom, however, may be more representative of the attitudes of the more articulate, sophisticated students. A pair of studies probing urban fifth-grade attitudes toward the political regime in 1968 and 1976 demonstrated an increase in the perceived efficacy of the dominant political ideology, especially among children at the lower socioeconomic level.[15] It would appear that the introduction of moral and civic education into the curriculum as a direct attempt at political socialization for regime maintenance is achieving the effect, at least for the majority of the population studied, for which it was designed.

A recent analysis of the textbooks used for this subject in grades 5-8 reveals some of the ways in which the trend toward nationalism, as interpreted by the Revolutionary Government, has wrung practically all conflict, violence and controversy from the version of Brazilian development present in schools.[16] Stereotypical Brazilian values--conciliation, cordiality, and nonviolence--dominate textbook interpretation of historical events and current situations. The sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso feels that the real problem is that " . . . the society is hypnotized by the private arbitrariness . . . that is congealed in the silence of public bureaucracies."[17]

The social studies instructional mode is predominantly expository. A recent survey conducted in urban capitals of six states, representing all geographical regions of the country, found that social studies teachers primarily lecture and write outlines on chalkboards which are copied and memorized by students.[18] It appears that the problem-centered, personal-rediscovery orientation is not presently a part of Brazilian social studies pedagogy; rather, social studies, in the context of the rest of the curriculum, is viewed as a series of descriptive items to be learned by the student. Nor does the instructional mode of university-level moral and civic education encourage the investigation of such current, controversial problems as nuclear energy or the conflict between settlers and Indians over territory in Brazil's western and Amazon regions.[19]

University programs for preparing social studies teachers were instituted in response to the 1971 Reform Law. For the most part, these curricula have consisted of existing courses in colleges of social science and education. Two federal universities--Minas Gerais and Paraná--are involved in long-term curriculum development projects for the training of social studies teachers which promise to provide a thoughtful basis for the reformulation of other teacher training programs in the social studies. No specific attention is being given at present to the preparation of teachers for the civic education subjects mandated for all levels of instruction.

Summary

Social education in Brazil reflects the current political situation in the country. Changes in curriculum orientation are mandated at the federal level and implemented by state and local systems. However, the political situation is changing. Public pressure is making itself felt. Censorship of the press is on the wane. Labor union strikes, including teachers' strikes, are permitted, with contracts negotiated directly between workers and employers. National elections are becoming more and more free. As the arbitrariness of the executive branch diminishes, discussion and debate should flower. Much more in the way of public, intellectual introspection is already appearing in print, and the social education curricula surely will be part of the debate agenda. Social studies will be reoriented, redefined, or perhaps rejected, as the general debate begins to filter down to curriculum specifics. The question remains, however, whether decision-making style as well as substance will be affected by the ensuing debates.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. J.C. de Macedo Soares Guimarães, "Um Regime Para o Brasil" (series of three articles), *Jornal do Brasil*, March 18, 25, 26, 1979.

2. Alfred Stepan, *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policy, and Future* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

3. Manfredo Berger, *Educação e Depêndencia* (Porto Alegre: DIFEL-UFRS, 1976), p. 219.

4. Vailda Pereira Paiva, *Educação Popular e Educação de Adultos* (São Paulo: Loyala, 1973).

5. Jaques Lambert, *Os Dois Brasil*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1967).

6. However, for example, during the U.S. AID period (1964-1974), as a result of the $300 million offered to Brazil for technical assistance, comprehensive schools were introduced for what was then the middle school (grades 5-8) under a program known as PREMEN. This included human resource training as well as capital investment; each state could decide whether it wanted to participate. States continue to initiate project requests at their discretion.

7. "Encontro dos Secretários," *O Globo*, June 6, 1975, p. 10.

8. These figures do not reflect the number of students who are completing continuation high school programs. It should also be noted that students applying for college entrance represent a very wide age span, with usually from six to fifteen candidates for every opening except in the field of education, where there is less interest--possibly because of low salaries and difficult working conditions.

9. Maria Avany da Gama Rosa, "Serão Adequados os Programas Brasileiros de Curso Primário?," Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagogicos 47 (April/June 1967), pp. 226-245.

10. Presidência da Republica Brasil, Decreto no. 869, December 9, 1969.

11. Congresso Nacional Brasil, Lei no. 5692, August 11, 1971.

12. Conselho Federal de Educação, Paracer no. 94, February 4, 1971, in *Documenta no. 123*.

13. Historically, however, social studies have generally been separated from moral and civic education. Report cards may have separate grades for each area. Typically, moral and civic education programs have been largely doctrinaire, with religious elements dominant.

14. Universidade Federal do Paranã, Estudos Sociais a Partir da Longa Duração: Relatõrio 1 (Curitiba: Setor de Ciẽncias Humanas, Letras e Artes, Departamento de Histõria, 1976), p. 15.

15. Rosemary G. Messick, "Political Attitudes of American and Brazilian Urban Ten-Year-Olds," doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1969; Josepha Nogueira Parabyha Dias, "Atitudes Polĩticas da Criança de 10-11 Anos da Escola Pũblica Urbana do Rio de Janeiro," master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro, 1976.

16. Gisãlio Cerqueira Filho and Gizlene Neder, "Concicliação e Violẽncia na Histõria do Brasil," *Encontros com a Civilização Brasileira* 2 (August 1978), pp. 189-227.

17. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "As Injustiças e o Silẽncio," *Folha de São Paulo*, October 24, 1976. Some critics of what they call "pseudo-researchers," however, urge caution in accepting the conclusions of certain studies because of bias and poor research techniques.

18. Consuelo de Menezes Garcia, "Desempenho de Professores em Áreas Urbanas: Estudos Sociais e Ciẽncias," *Revista de Educação de UFP* (sẽrie mestrado) 2, no. 1 (1978), pp. 111-148.

19. Among other serious problems demanding more attention than they are now receiving are the large number (more than 4 million) of abandoned children, the need for realistic family planning, and inflation.

4. *Social Studies in Britain*

A Time of Transition

By Lewis Spolton

Lewis Spolton graduated in geography and taught that subject and social studies in a variety of schools before becoming headmaster successively in primary and secondary schools in England. After taking his master's degree in education, since 1961 he has lectured in the Education Department at University College, Swansea--a constituent institution of the University of Wales. He has been involved in numerous educational study trips throughout Europe and has been a visiting professor at Stanford University in the United States. Among his publications are The Upper Secondary School: A Comparative Study, Ninety North: The Story of Arctic Exploration, *and (with D. Riley)* World Weather and Climate.

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On a group of islands off the northwest coast of Europe, 60 million people of varied origin and tradition, along with significant groups of newer immigrants, inhabit a relatively small area with a complex infrastructure. A democratic community, a constitutional monarch, the "mother" of parliaments, a complicated system for sharing of responsibilities among central, regional, and smaller governmental districts--all these facets have to be lived with and appreciated. Despite its long tradition and its common language, Great Britain remains a divided society, with social class a potent force.

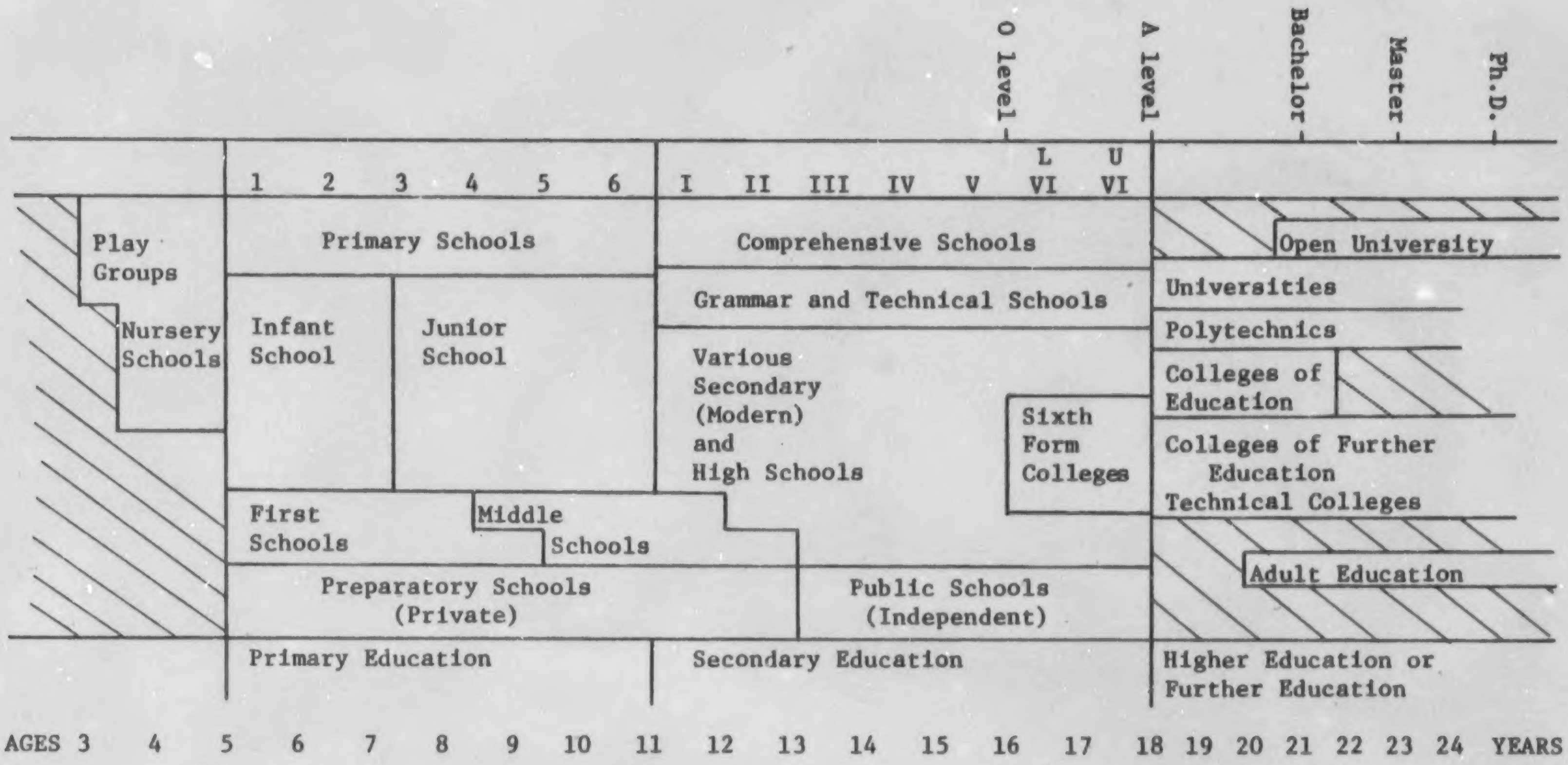
The Educational Setting

A long period of evolution has produced a complicated educational system (see Figure 4a), about which it is hardly possible to make a statement that does not need qualification. Voluntary education preceded legislation providing for state-supported schools. Britain's private school system is influential beyond its numerical strength; alumni of the so-called public schools (which are really private and independent) have easier access to prestigious universities and influential occupations.

The national education system is administratively a partnership between central government (with a secretary of state for education and science at the head) and local authorities. It is a decentralized system with great variation from district to district and much initiative left for individual schools. School starting age is five years, but there is an identifiable (rather slowly increasing) trend toward establishing preschools. Primary schools are comprehensive and coeducational and often progressive in methods. Even though an increasing number of middle schools are keeping pupils until they are 12 or 13 years old, the primary stage still generally ends at 11 years. At the secondary stage, comprehensive schools are gradually replacing the so-called tripartite

Figure 4a

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES


O level
A level
Bachelor
Master
Ph.D.
1 2 3 4 5 6
I II III IV V
L VI
U VI
Play Groups
Nursery Schools
Primary Schools
Infant School
Junior School
First Schools
Middle Schools
Preparatory Schools (Private)
Comprehensive Schools
Grammar and Technical Schools
Various Secondary (Modern) and High Schools
Sixth Form Colleges
Public Schools (Independent)
Open University
Universities
Polytechnics
Colleges of Education
Colleges of Further Education
Technical Colleges
Adult Education
Primary Education
Secondary Education
Higher Education or Further Education
AGES 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 YEARS

system of grammar, technical, and modern schools which was established after the Education Act of 1944. (Actually, technical schools were always few in number; most students were assigned by means of intelligence and attainment tests to grammar schools for the intellectually more able and modern schools for the others, with about 75 percent labeled "others.") In 1977 about 80 percent of all pupils in the maintained system were in comprehensive schools. The minimum age for leaving school is 16, allowing for a five-year secondary course. At this point nationwide examinations are given to about 75 percent of students in this age group--an extremely important factor in the development of social studies teaching.

At present there are two examinations with a deliberate overlap. The older examination is the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary Level (GCE "O" level), organized by seven examination boards. A newer examination, the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), is organized by fourteen examination boards on a more strictly regional basis.

The CSE is aimed at a lower-ability range than the GCE, with its best obtainable grade equaling the lowest passing grade of the older examination. However, GCE has evolved from a pass/fail test to a graded examination like the CSE. For some years there has been experimentation aimed at establishing a common examination for all 16-year-olds. Currently, a White Paper before Parliament envisages an arrangement giving a common system of examination by 1985. The proposal calls for a General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), awarded in seven grades and administered by four or five largely regional examination boards. To accomplish this will require much amalgamation between the present boards, which are for the most part independent bodies. At the higher levels the universities have a good deal of influence over GCE, but there is more teacher control of CSE. Generally speaking, the CSE boards are more active in the devolution of assessment to schools and teachers. A Mode III examination allows the school to produce its own syllabus and to assess the work of its pupils subject to external moderation. A Mode I examination is based on an external syllabus and is externally examined. (The importance of Mode III for social studies will become apparent later.)

The working of the examination boards is overseen and supervised rather loosely by the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. This body, instituted in 1964 and usually called simply the Schools Council, is a large group of educators who work through a number of different committees. It is made up of representatives of three main groups--teachers, local education authorities, and the central authority. A noted educationist serves a term as permanent chairman; there is a secretariat and a research and development section. The full title of the course explains its dual responsibilities. In 1978, it was reorganized and strengthened to give it a tighter supervisory role. Two of the roles of the Schools Council are to help equate standards between the various boards and act to disseminate information. It is also extremely active in curriculum development and has sponsored a large number of innovatory projects in a variety of fields, including the social studies.

At 16, students may proceed to a further two-year course in the sixth form. (Logically, it would be more sensible to speak of the sixth and seventh forms, but usually this period is referred to as the lower sixth and the upper sixth.) During these two years it has been customary for students to prepare for GCE at Advanced Level--a prerequisite for university entrance, but also used as an entry qualification for many posts at 18 years of age. The sixth form is specialized; students normally choose three major subjects, often all selected from either the arts or the sciences.

As increasing numbers of pupils stay on after 16 years, there is a need for other goals in the sixth form. Diversification and a decrease in specialization are both under active consideration. Well-documented proposals for offering five major subjects, instead of the current three, are being considered. Under this plan, the content in any subject would be reduced--even in some cases halved--although the same conceptual level may be maintained. If adopted, this scheme could enhance the position of the social studies at this level. All sixth forms theoretically leave some time available for general studies, and many schools offer a subject called General Studies at Advanced Level, though other schools are less systematic in their approach. However, some social study does enter the curriculum in this unstructured way.

The arrangements in Northern Ireland differ from those described above in a number of particulars; in Scotland two of the fundamental differences are a broader curriculum for the older age groups and more centralization.

The freedom of each school to work out its own curriculum is a well-publicized feature of the educational system in England and Wales. However, there are many factors working toward uniformity. Tradition is one, but the examination syllabus is extremely important and can be dominant after the age of 14 years, especially in the case of the more academic pupils. There is more variety in the curriculum at the earlier stages and for those less likely to be involved in examinations. The advent of Mode III types of assessment is also a liberating factor. All this had important corollaries for the position of social studies.

Some schools in describing their curricula did not mention social studies at all. By statute, religious education is the only subject that the schools must teach, but in fact all schools will offer a broad curriculum of English, arithmetic and mathematics, history, geography, science, foreign languages, art, crafts, music and physical education.

The Social Studies: An Overview

As noted, some schools did not mention social studies as a component of their curriculum. However no school would exclude from its general aims the idea of helping pupils toward a clearer understanding of themselves, their community, their country and its prospects, and their responsibilities and opportunities in addition to a better appreciation of man and his place on the earth, all of which are the central concern of social studies. Many schools would point to the traditional subjects of history, geography, English, and religious education as vehicles for achieving these aims and also stress the contribution made by extra-curricular activities and the general community life of the school. These schools have not accepted suggestions for making their curriculum more relevant by transcending traditional subject boundaries and making use of the well-ordered schemes for social education and curriculum development projects produced under the aegis of the Schools Council. Social studies as a legitimate subject has yet to make a full impact. The remainder of this section will analyze this situation and suggest reasons and solutions.

Social Studies Content at the Primary and Secondary Levels

Primary Education. In primary schools, for children between the ages of five and eleven, there is much incidental social studies education. Increasingly, it is being taught informally through projects and centers of interest, using local material as a starting point for extension to a wider area. History and geography are still sometimes taught separately, but they have long been thought of in terms of life in other times and in other lands. Often, these subjects are replaced by local studies or social studies. Pupils are taken out of school and involved in neighborhood projects. Police, firefighters, refuse-disposal employees, postal workers, nurses, ambulance attendants, and parents of school pupils with social work experience are invited to school to talk and be questioned. These activities lead to the making of records in pictures and words. Religious education is also taught in every school. While this consists in large degree of Bible stories and Bible study, it also includes education and discussion of right and wrong.

There is no body of knowledge stipulated and no particular field that must be covered by the end of primary school. Experience and activity are seen as being of greater importance than a formal body of content. Pupils from different schools will have been prepared in diverse ways; thus, secondary schools cannot be sure of the foundations on which they will build. However, usually there is useful material from which an edifice can be constructed.

Secondary Education. A survey of secondary schools in England and Wales in 1971-1972 (a stratified random sample of 217 public secondary schools of all types) showed that combined studies were replacing geography and other subjects in 29 percent of the schools (see Table 4a).

Table 4a

SOCIAL STUDIES OFFERINGS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1971-1972

Name of course	No. of Schools
Social studies	22
Humanities	15
Environmental studies	7
Integrated studies	7
Local studies	7
Other titles	6
Total schools = 217	64

Worth noting is the variety of titles given to these courses, all of which include some social studies content. The survey noted that though many of the courses had been designed for average and less-able students, about half were appropriate for able and average students. These courses were often of short duration--for example, they might be offered only in the first year of the secondary school. In higher forms, traditional subjects were taught separately. Some of these arrangements had been made in order to spare younger secondary pupils too many changes of teachers. In a further 18 percent of the schools surveyed, combined studies were featured side by side with geography and history. These courses, with titles just as diverse as those on the list in Table 4a, were designed for less-able pupils. Similar courses appear as examination titles in CSE in increasing numbers. For example, in 1970, of the more than a million subject entries at CSE level, geography and history each accounted for about 90,000, but subjects subsumed under the headings of economics and social studies had only about 14,000 entries. By 1976 the number of subject entries had increased to 2.5 million. Geography and history averaged about 155,000 entries each, but economics and social studies now included about 110,000 entries--an eightfold increase in six years, though admittedly from a low base level.

These figures indicate the attention paid to subjects within the social studies ambit. Even those who argue that history and geography are not equivalent to social studies realize that the syllabi of these subjects are not static but are continually changing to include more socially oriented material. The survey cited showed that 60 percent of geography syllabi were paying significant attention to the social applications of the subject.[1]

The more-able students are mainly directed to the traditional subject-oriented disciplines, which nevertheless contain varying amounts of social studies content. Less-able students are the more likely to be involved in courses which carry a social studies connotation in their titles and which contain more direct social studies teaching. The problem created by this dichotomy can illustrated by quoting some of the directives given to teams involved in Schools Council projects. For example, the Humanities Curriculum Project team (which was concerned with the education of 14- to 16-year-old pupils of average and below-average ability) was given this instruction at the outset: "No curriculum is acceptable for the average if it is divisive. Any curriculum offered to average pupils should be equally appropriate at the highest ability range."[2] The team produced its material on this basis.

Because of the way in which social studies in secondary education has developed (along with the system itself since 1944), it carries some implication of being more suitable for the lower and slower rather than the quicker and slicker. (This is not entirely a postwar phenomenon; it has much deeper roots in the system, as the analysis that follows will attempt to demonstrate.) Allied to this is the problem of definition. Only when it is possible to clearly define the content of social studies and show that it is suitable for students highest in the ability range will the field be able to make maximum progress.

The Development of the School Curriculum

In the 1800s the basic curriculum of the secondary school consisted of the classics and mathematics. As such new subjects as history and science developed, curriculum reformers sought places for them in schools. There were two possible ways of introducing a new subject into the curriculum: it could be introduced alongside existing subjects, thus extending the curriculum for all students, or it could be introduced in place of an existing subject as a separate but parallel course. The first method was adopted on the Continent, in France and Germany, giving a broader, more-encyclopedic approach to the curriculum. In England the alternative approach was adopted, and "sides," specializing in groups of subjects, grew up in the schools. The classical side remained pre-eminent, but modern sides--among them history and science--also evolved. The modern sides had to struggle for their existence and were generally accounted as being of less worth than the classical side, which generally attracted the ablest pupils.

After 1902, as government-maintained secondary schools gradually developed sixth forms, they were encouraged to follow the Public School arrangement; examinations organized for sixth forms in 1917 were designed to fit this pattern of specialization--which thus became imposed on the schools. When a new subject attempted entry into the schools, it had to compete against existing subjects and could only gain a foothold where pupils were willing to accept it (and schools to teach it) as an alternative to traditional disciplines.

At the beginning of the century, secondary schools were serving only a low percentage of young people. At the same time, the elementary schools were beginning to add subjects other than the "three Rs" to their curriculum. This widening of the curriculum became more marked when, encouraged by a government report in 1926, separate senior schools for pupils over the age of 11 began to be organized. At first these schools did not actively seek a social role; they had a limited academic aim. In those days, most local communities were still efficacious in providing a social education, and growing up in a close-knit society was a valuable social experience in itself.

At that point, the social sciences had just begun to develop as separate subjects. Geddes, a professor of Botany at Edinburgh, was developing social studies as part of geography, using and extending Le Play's ideas of "place, work, and folk." The French geographer Brunhes produced his *Geographie Humaine* in the first decade of the century. (The title was later translated for an English edition as *Human Geography*, but it has been suggested that *Social Geography* might have been a more accurate title.) A much used book in school geography at this time was *Man and His Work*.

In the 1930s there were some suggestions for a social studies approach, but not until after World War II was a determined assault made on the entrenched curriculum. Now began the full realization that growing up in the modern world was different. Families were becoming nuclear rather than extended; urbanization was proceeding apace, mobility was increasing, and the mass media were making everything instant. Schools had to be prepared to take on the social role that the community had previously discharged.

Among the changes that followed the 1944 Education Act was the establishment of the secondary modern school, which was urged by the Ministry of Education (1947) to make its curriculum modern, relevant, vital, and not merely a pale shadow of the grammar school. Social studies, as a "modern, relevant, vital" study, began to make headway. Some secondary modern schools seized the opportunity gladly, and even a few grammar schools experimented with the integrated approach to the curriculum. But experimental curricula did not bring parity of esteem to the secondary modern school; when the postwar honeymoon period was over, they were urged to become real secondary schools and not merely elementary schools writ large. After a change in the examination regulations in 1951, allowing the GCE to be earned via single subjects instead of the group (five subjects) required of the old school certificate, the secondary modern schools turned to traditional examination-oriented subjects.

With this development the social studies movement lost its momentum because the new examination, the CSE, was initially oriented to the traditional subject disciplines. This effort used up the energies of the schools in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, curriculum development was much discussed at this time, and when the Schools Council was eventually established in 1964 it first directed its attention to the new CSE examination.

In its second working paper (1965), the Schools Council discussed some of the problems of social studies in schools:

> . . . there is traditionally a large area of the curriculum which has to do with understanding man and his place on this earth. Sometimes this area is comprised under the term "the literary subjects"--history, geography, English and religious education. Here however the term "humanities" is used . . . to refer to that group of subjects which is predominantly concerned with men and women in relation to their environment, their communities and their own self-knowledge . . . . It is also quite evident that the modern world cannot be understood without impinging on the field of economics, and that sociology, psychology and anthropology have a contribution to make to the teacher's armoury, even though these descriptions are unlikely to appear on the pupils' timetable.[3]

The following projects sponsored by the Schools Council are relevant to the social studies:[4]

--The Liverpool Social Studies Project (for pupils 8-13).

--The Keele Integrated Studies Project (which combines social sciences and creative arts).

--The Moral Education Curriculum from Cambridge.

--Geography for the Young School Leaver (for pupils 14-16).

--The Social Education Project (which attempts to instill a sense of community identification and develop methods of participation in activities needed for the solution of social problems in pupils 11-16).

--The General Studies Project at York (which has produced study units for sixth forms and colleges of further education, many of which have much social studies content).

In the last decade progress has been made in the social studies, but the way ahead is a difficult one. The British national education system is still oriented toward an elite. The following two case studies of schools in England and Wales illustrate two different approaches.

First Case Study: The Hedley Walter School, Brentwood

Brentwood is an attractive town in Essex 20 miles from London. Although it has its own industries and suburbs, it is mainly a dormitory town for London commuters. Brentwood has a variety of schools, but the Hedley Walter School epitomizes the development of British education since the 1930s. It began as twin single-sex senior schools for post-primary pupils not proceeding to grammar schools. After the war it was designated a secondary (modern) school; it became coeducational in the late 1950s, and in 1968 it enrolled a comprehensive intake. In 1977 the Hedley Walter School had 1,400 pupils, with about 280 pupils in each age group. It has a flourishing sixth form.

63

The school philosophy aims at integration of content and rejects the unduly fragmented subject timetable. Traditionally separate subjects are grouped together on the timetable and integrated under the direction of teams of specialists. Three such groups are the humanities, combined sciences, and creative arts/handicrafts. The classes in each age cohort are organized as mixed-ability groups. For those who need special help there is a system of remedial clinics, but the general work is carefully structured to suit a wide range of abilities. As skills develop, the material becomes more open ended. This approach was first worked out with the humanities group--an interdisciplinary curriculum integrating English, religious education, history, and geography. Blocks of time are allocated to each subject group; several classes are treated as a unit; a system of team teaching operates, with lead lessons taken by the specialist and follow-up lessons offered to smaller groups by other members of the team. During these follow-up lessons, emphasis is placed on individualized learning; while each member of the team acts as a general tutor, organizing the work of the group, but is also available for consultation in his or her other role, as a subject-matter specialist. The work is approached thematically and is wider in scope than the sum total of the four traditional disciplines, in that it also includes material from sociology, anthropology, civics, and economics.

Two-fifths of the week is made available for the humanities curriculum. The general sequence is as follows: first year, the needs of man; second year, communication in an expanding world; third year, changing patterns of life and work. Each theme is developed across the disciplines; the work begins with study of the locality and widens from a study of the homeland to a world view. A variety of skills are developed and exercised: oral discussion, reading and comprehension, the writing of reports and also creative writing. Literature appropriate to the theme and age range is studied and used.

The success of the scheme in the first three years led to the wish to continue, and an integrated humanities scheme for the fourth and fifth years was devised. Traditionally, these are the years of preparation for external examinations. The school had to negotiate for its own syllabus to be accepted at both GCE Ordinary and CSE levels. Assessment is based on a range of activities. Up to 50 percent of the marks can be earned via work completed during the course; 25 percent are available for an inquiry project (there are separate projects for history, geography, and religious education; in English "spoken English" takes the place of the project). The remaining 25 percent are awarded for formal tests of knowledge and skills.

The integrated syllabus for the fourth and fifth years is based on the following themes: the individual and the group, the individual and the local community, the individual in an industrial society, the changing nation, government and authority in a permissive society, the developing world. A short summary cannot do real justice to this imaginative enterprise, but the importance of the continuation of social groupings through the five years which the scheme allows is something that must be emphasized.

In the fourth and fifth years all pupils in the school take the humanities curriculum in additon to a broadly based mathematics course and a combined science course. They may choose three optional subjects from a list which includes foreign languages, more-specialized science subjects, and workshop subjects. Courses on sociology and the British Constitution are available as separate options to be taken at the GCE or CSE level.

A few sentences of appraisal are necessary. This scheme allows an interdisciplinary approach to the social studies to be followed until students reach the age of 16, despite the inhibiting effect of a national examination system wedded to single subjects. Because it also makes social study themes available to all students in the age group, regardless of ability, it represents an important breakthrough.

Second Case Study: Ynysawdre Comprehensive School

Ynysawdre Comprehensive School is situated in Mid-Glamorgan, where the southern edge of the Welsh coalfields meets the softer country of the Vale. Built 15 years ago as two separate schools, (grammar and modern) on the same site, the school has been imaginatively integrated since comprehension by two forward-looking headteachers. In 1978 the Ynysawdre school had 1,555 pupils, with about 500 in each age group. The sixth form (sixth and seventh years) has only about 100 pupils. This 16 percent retention rate (the figure is 20 percent for England and Wales as a whole) reflects the socioeconomic background of the school catchment area, which lacks a representative proportion of the professional managerial class and has a heavier-than-normal weighting of lower-middle-class and working-class parents.

The school organizes its academic work into three broad bands of ability, although everyone takes English, mathematics, physical education, health education, and religious education at an appropriate level. In the top ability band in form 4, consisting of six classes, every pupil chooses five other subjects from a spectrum of alternatives. Most pupils work toward GCE. The choice of subjects is wide and mainly traditional. Included in the options are history, geography, and civics; the last subsumes some social studies material. In the second band of two classes, social studies is taught to all pupils. The subject requires five periods each week and leads to Mode III at CSE level. A project accounts for one-sixth of the marks; the remaining marks are awarded for a combination of short-answer and essay-type questions. The course has a civics bias and the syllabus includes such themes as law and order in society, work and wages, the consumer, the central government, and national and world problems. The third band (four classes of lower ability) receives a social studies course four periods a week.

The sixth-form students in the middle and lower ability bands also devote two periods to the Childwall Project, which consists of packaged social studies materials. Integrated with the social studies in the third band is a social work practicum which allows students to work in hospitals, residential homes for the physically handicapped, and a school for the disabled.

All pupils in the upper ability band choose an option with much social studies content--history, geography, or civics. Students in the other ability bands take obligatory courses that include a wide range of socially oriented content. In addition, about every week each student takes part in a work-experience program in the community. On any given Thursday throughout the year, about 60 pupils will be engaged in work experience visits or social work visits.

Preparation for Teaching Social Studies

Teachers in British schools are prepared by two different kinds of processes. Those who teach primary children and less-able secondary students generally take a concurrent program of teacher education and subject disciplines at a three-year college of education. Colleges of education have often been ready to replace traditional disciplines with newer integrated subjects, and some ideas about social studies methods have emanated from these institutions. Teachers with this kind of preparation are likely to have an adequate social studies background.

The other route to teaching is a consecutive program at a university. After following an academic course for three years, students proceed to a fourth year consisting of teacher education. Because social studies is not recognized as an academic subject, few teachers with this background are prepared to teach social studies. Mainly specialists, these teachers for the most part teach brighter students and older secondary pupils. Increasingly, however, teachers trained by this method have degrees in social sciences (as distinct from the social studies) and thus may be well qualified to teach sociology, economics, or psychology (or some suitable reduction of these subjects) at the secondary level.

International Perspectives

Geography, although it has its roots in the locality and the Homeland, has always spent the major part of its time in building up a world perspective. The best-known objective of geography teaching in Britain was expressed by Fairgrieve, who wrote that "the function of geography is to train future citizens to imagine accurately the conditions of the great world stage and so help them to think sanely about political and social problems in the world around."[5] History, though that subject has tended to focus primarily on national matters, regularly includes European topics and often a broad world picture, especially in regard to the work of international agencies. At the early stages both history and geography deal with simple cultures in time and space (Egypt, Assyria, the Bushmen, the Eskimos). Religious education has traditionally emphasized the evolution of Judaic/Christian religion but is devoting an increasing amount of time to other world religions. With projects and themes becoming more important in teaching, such topics as world poverty, race, population problems, and urbanization are widely covered. Teachers have always felt free to use current events in their teaching, and--given the decentralized structure of education--they have had no difficulty in doing so. How to teach so as to foster international understanding is a more contentious problem. Many experiments have been tried, and some successes have been claimed. Inculcating knowledge is a relatively simple matter compared with the difficulties of fostering right attitudes--which must remain the eventual aim of social studies teaching, no matter how difficult it is to achieve.

Summary

This society stratified by class has produced a generally hierarchical educational system in which schools teach subjects according to a more or less well-defined rank order. Since the 1930s, and especially since 1945, this old order has been challenged, but it has not yet completely changed. Social studies, as a subject, has made the most progress with average and less-able students, but much incidental socially oriented content is incorporated into programs for the more able, especially as the course content of such traditional disciplines as history, geography, and religious instruction is updated. Under the auspices of the Schools Council, many integrated schemes of social study have been validated and are ready for use. Mixed-ability groupings in secondary schools have become more widely accepted. A suitable method of assessment (Mode III) has been devised. The situation is ripe for advance. Encouragement from a few prestigious private schools could provide a trigger.

However, many researchers and observers have pointed out the difficulties involved in working with mixed-ability groups. Bennett, working in primary education, called attention to the pitfalls inherent in using exploratory, progressive methods,[6] and Her Majesty's Inspectors have stressed the problems associated with the introduction of unstructured integrated subjects into the secondary schools.[7] At a time of overall concern about basic standards, these pronouncements cannot fail to direct attention again to the traditional didactic mode and the separate-subject approach; in the past, social studies has made the most headway when the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. To consolidate and increase its influence, the social studies curriculum will need to emphasize its many-sided strengths.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. *School Geography in the Changing Curriculum*, Education Survey no. 19 (London: Department of Education and Science, 1974).

2. L. Stenhouse, "The Humanities Curriculum Project," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 1 (1968/69).

3. *Raising the School Leaving Age*, Working Paper no. 2 (London: Schools Council, 1965).

4. *Society and the Young School Leaver*, Working Paper no. 11 (London: Schools Council, 1967).

5. J. Fairgrieve, *Geography in School* (London: University of London Press, 1926).

6. N. Bennett, *Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress* (London: Open Books, 1976).

7. *Mixed-Ability Work in Comprehensive Schools*, HMI Matters for Discussion Series, no. 6 (London: Department of Education and Science, 1978).

5. *Social Studies in Canada*

Looking to the Schools for Answers

By Frank Simon

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As the world's second-largest country, sharing more than 4,000 miles of unguarded boundary with the United States but struggling with the problems of foreign ownership of her economy and of national unity, Canada continues to assume an uncertain posture in its domestic and foreign relations. On the domestic scene, the country's internal problems in the latter 1960s reached such severity that the national government resorted to invoking the War Measures Act, and its heavy dependence on investment from and trade with the United States has resulted in what many Canadians (and non-Canadians) regard as a foreign takeover of the Canadian economy. Expectedly, therefore, Canada has been praised and maligned for its ambivalent stands in foreign affairs--as, for example, assuming a peacekeeping role on the one hand, while on the other maintaining membership in NATO.

Britain's seizure of Quebec from France more than two centuries ago left a simmering resentment among Quebecoise toward English-speaking Canada, which is regarded by many French Canadians as foreign and imperialistic. The long history of Quebec's emotionally separate identity has, in recent years, taken on a powerful political aspect, as that province appears to progress irreversibly toward political independence. In the eastern and western provinces as well, particularly in the western provinces, the voices of separatists are again being heard, amid continuing federal-provincial disputes over resource ownership and income from resource development.

Also contributing to divisiveness are Canada's well-known geographic factors: cross-cutting mountain ranges, large bodies of water, long distances between major population centers, and the relative closeness of these centers to U.S. cities. Furthermore, there has long been a substantial economic gap between Canada's richer and poorer provinces, as well as--particularly with regard to Quebec, in relation to the rest of Canada--a complex of cultural differences.

Canada's problems of internal unity and harmony, already intensified by inflation and worsening economic prospects, are now complicated by yet another crisis: that which arises from a growing, politically awakening, and demanding native population. The forces for cohesion traditionally provided by the monarchy and Commonwealth membership are apparently greatly weakened, and it is not clear whether such factors as a maturing economy can be regarded as compensating sufficiently for this loss. Perhaps more significant as a cohesive factor is the recent appearance of a developing nationalistic sentiment. It seems too early, however, to determine the effectivenss and viability of this apparent trend.

There can be no doubt that Canada's problems in regard to identity and unity will have a profound effect on her political, economic, and social future, and on social studies curricula throughout the country.

Control of Educational Curricula

By virtue of the British North America Act in 1867, by which Canada became a federal state, education fell under provincial jurisdiction. Consequently, Canada does not have a national office of education, and major curriculum policy is formulated, separately, by provincial departments of education. Interprovincial communication regarding education exists, however, at the ministerial level and through such national organizations as the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Canadian Association of University Teachers. In the social studies area, communication occurs through conventions of the recently established Canadian Association for the Social Studies and through the curriculum development work funded by the Canadian Studies Foundation and the Canadian Foundation for Economic Education. At the student level there are, occasionally, such events as the Canadian Studies Forum, an annual national conference of selected high school students. Occasionally, too, there are exchanges of smaller numbers of students between usually distant Canadian centers.

Since the latter 1950s, provincial control of school curricula has diminished in two ways. On the one hand the federal government, through support of vocational education programs, has made a major impact on the curricular choices of secondary students; on the other, individual school districts have assumed increasingly more responsibility for curricular offerings, curriculum planning, and inservice teacher-training programs. Further decentralization in curriculum decision making has been evident in the growing transfer of this responsibility to teachers themselves.

With curricular control becoming increasingly dispersed throughout the educational scene, it is becoming correspondingly difficult to determine what the specific aims of education are, and who sets them. Provincial departments of education have increasingly been seen to play a facilitating rather than a prescriptive role.

These observations are supported by findings of a survey which showed that provincial departments of education, individual teachers of social studies, the local school authorities had the greatest influence, respectively, on social studies curriculum development in Canada.[1] Canadian teacher-training institutions were perceived to have a generally moderate influence, and provincial and local social studies teacher organizations exerted, generally, only a low to low-moderate influence. The influences emanating from the United States (e.g., through the National Council for the Social Studies, U.S. publications, and U.S. teacher-training institutions) were perceived to be generally weak, constituting the lowest category of influences named in the study. (This last finding appears to many Canadian social studies educators to be surprising and highly questionable.) All in all, the survey revealed that school curriculum in Canada is being increasingly determined by the combined impact of *various* influences rather than by provincial or local prescription. This is not to say, however, that provincial and local authorities were losing their influence. On the contrary, both groups appeared to be increasingly involved as facilitating agencies, thereby replacing their prescriptive role with a growing facilitative function. It is important to note, however, that since the completion of this survey in 1974 the school curriculum seems again to be falling increasingly under provincial and local control and prescription.

Defining the Social Studies

The social studies has been defined in many different ways in Canada. One definition states that the term simply means "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes."[2] Other definitions accommodate a wider concept, including affective and moral domains of human development. Thus the social studies is viewed not only as simplified social science content and skills but also as a vehicle for inculcating desirable traits of character.

An elaboration of these definitions could, perhaps, be best achieved by a discussion of the goals of social studies in Canada. A report issued in 1962 made the following assessment:

> There is little that is sharply different among the departmental statements of aims for Canadian schools. All are concerned with the development of children both as individuals and as prospective citizens of a democratic society. All stress the mastery of skills, the understanding of both the natural and social environment, appreciation of the cultural heritage and development of sound mental and physical health.[3]

This statement varies somewhat from the earlier recommendation of two provincial royal commissions in western Canada that intellectual development be the ultimate aim of general education.[4] In any event, whatever form statements of educational goals took prior to the 1960s, they seriously lacked both specifically humanistic concern and requirements for scientific rigor in skill development.

During the "intellectual ferment" in school curriculum which began in the early 1960s, more attention was directed to writing operational and functional goals.[5] Other emphases during that decade included (1) the acquisition of knowledge concerning the operation of human society, (2) the development of an increasing capacity to think critically and creatively, (3) the development of ability to deal with normative (value) questions, and (4) development of some facility in modes of thinking and inquiry.[6] It was evident, however, that objectives in the social studies had not extended to the development of inquiry skills "beyond minor research techniques, study habits, and some practice in analysis and synthesis."[7]

Humanistic concerns were more evident than the scientific in curriculum statements issued in the late 1960s, when the curriculum guides of most provinces indicated that the social studies should (1) produce better citizens, (2) inculcate respect for and tolerance of the rights of individuals, minorities, and people of other races, colors, and cultures, (3) develop an appreciation of cultural heritage, (4) develop a commitment to the democratic ethic, and (5) provide historical and geographical knowledge, both national and international.[8]

In 1974 a survey of Canadian social studies educators' perceptions of social education in their respective provinces identified the goals cited in all or most Canadian provinces. The rank order of the goals and the number of provinces from which each goal was reported are shown below. (For the purposes of the study, the Yukon and the Northwest territories were treated as separate "provinces.")

1. Knowledge and understanding of Canadian society--local, provincial, and national (10).
2. Knowledge and understanding of the world community of man (11).
3. Inquiry skills (inductive processes) (9).
4. Citizenship skills (8).
5. Ability to get along with others, including an understanding of attitudes, feelings, values, and behavior (8).
6. Valuing skills (7).
7. Problem-solving and decision-making skills (6).

Goals calling for acquisition of knowledge and understanding of social science content were reported from only four provinces, as was the goal of helping students to develop a Canadian "identity." In contrast with the earlier focus on intellectual and, later, humanistic development, the 1974 survey showed a greater emphasis on "coping" skills. The major focus of attention was on intellectual and social skills required for survival.

This trend follows, or is coincidental with, statements from such "reconstructionist" writers as Michael Scriven in the United States, whose "survival" curriculum included such knowledge and abilities as "people" knowledge, analytical reasoning, interpretive skills, scientific method, creativity, and social (change and survival) skills.[9] Scriven argued that the term *social studies* made "some sense" when applied to such curriculum elements, for "they are studies of social matters; moreover, they refer to something usefully distinct from social science."[10] Further, he saw a "survival" social studies curriculum as being largely about morality in practice; since such a curriculum is neither dogmatic nor relativistic, he perceived it as the proper successor to the best hopes for citizenship education.[11]

Combining Scriven's criteria for a "survival" curriculum with criteria advanced by others, among them Boyer, Kallen, and Simon, Darryl Smith examined social studies goals listed and elaborated in Alberta's curriculum guides issued between 1930 and 1971. Smith outlined his criteria as follows:

--The maintenance furtherment, and enhancement of life process--physical and psychological survival.

--The development of future planning goals consistent with the survival goal.

--The examination of social policy questions to develop future planning.

--The use of available representative data from the environment as opposed to specific textual material.

--The use of systematic empirical data procedures, analysis, and evaluation.

--The development and use of decision-making processes to identify solutions for social policy questions.

--Participation in social reconstruction.[12]

Smith found that Alberta's social studies curriculum, as reflected in the official statements of objectives in curriculum guides, had developed "great consistency with survival curriculum criteria over the past four decades."[13] He also found that no substantial effort to achieve such objectives began until 1965.

Thus, the definition of social studies in Canada, insofar as stated goals are concerned, appears to have moved substantially in the direction of Herbert Spencer's (1859) ideas about the two most important kinds of educational activity: (1) those activities which directly administer to self-preservation and (2) those activities which by securing the necessities of life indirectly administer to self-preservation.[14]

Canadian Social Studies as Seen in Practice

At present in Canada the social studies curriculum is still in ferment, and it would be hazardous to assume that there is widespread consistency between outlines in curriculum guides and actual classroom activity. This observation is particularly pertinent to provinces like Alberta, where social studies curriculum guidelines are general and permissive rather than detailed and prescriptive. As a result of such freedom, in the words of a social studies educator in Ontario, "while one teacher may emphasize one style of instruction or one area of concern, another may not . . . the teacher is the curriculum." An educator in Quebec stated: "We all have the same general curriculum to follow; however, the methodology and emphasis probably differ from Board to Board and from classroom to classroom."

Table 5a

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Province	No. Questionnaires Returned	Pop. (1000s)	Province	No. Questionnaires Returned	Pop. (1000s)
Brit. Columbia	4	2,530.2	Quebec	4	6,285
Alberta	5	1,950.3	New Brunswick	4	695
Saskatchewan	4	947.1	Nova Scotia	2	841.2
Manitoba	2	1,032.4	Prince Edward Island	3	122
Ontario	7	8,443.8	Newfoundland	2	568.9
Yukon Territory	0	21.7	Northwest Territories	1	43.5

Note: The Northwest Territories employs the Alberta curriculum. The Yukon Territory employs the British Columbia curriculum.

This writer used a questionnaire to obtain from a sample of educators their perceptions of the social studies curricula in their respective provinces (see Table 5a). The survey instrument sought the following kinds of perceptions from the respondents in each province:

1. Influences bearing on the curriculum.
2. Five major goals of social studies.
3. Emphases on various kinds of substantive content.
4. Emphases on various processes and skills.
5. Importance of trends.
6. Examples of trends.
7. Strengths in the overall provincial social studies curriculum.
8. Weaknesses in the overall provincial social studies curriculum.
9. Suggestions for the improvement of the social studies curriculum.

Four of these nine sections were prestructured, with each component containing a variety of relevant items accompanied by a scale for the purpose of scoring each item. For each item in each section, the range of scores included "no," "low," "moderate," and "high" categories in order to indicate the level or degree of influence, emphasis, and importance, as appropriate, for each item. The remaining five sections were open ended to permit free responses.

Responses to the prestructured items were "averaged" for each province, so as to show the predominant response to each item. For reporting the findings it was found necessary to add three additional score categories (see Table 5b). In some cases, the combination of an insufficient number of returned questionnaires and wide disparities in the ratings made it impossible to determine a predominant score. In such instances, the name of the province concerned was deleted from the table.

To the extent that the data permitted, responses were classified into elementary (1-6) and secondary (7-12) levels of public school education. The secondary level is subdivided further into junior and senior ("high school") levels, each consisting of three years or "grades." In some provinces there are minor variations of this sequence.[15]

The sample employed in this study consisted largely of educators in position to view social studies curriculum development in broad scope. Most respondents were curriculum consultants, directors, coordinators, and supervisors at both district and provincial levels. Another sizeable group consisted of education professors in Canadian universities. A few respondents were school-level personnel, principally teachers. In all, 38 questionnaires were returned; additional information was received from letters and other documents. The number of questionnaires returned from each province is shown in Table 5a. The provincial population figures shown are correct as of June 1978.

Although this writer had hoped that approximately 50 completed questionnaires (approximately five from each province) would be returned, most provinces fell short of the expected number. For the purposes of this study, however, the 38 completed questionnaires, viewed in conjunction with the other documents, were regarded as being generally adequate.

Summarized in this section are major findings drawn from the tables and analyses at successive stages of data processing. Because of space limitations, the many tables and their separate analyses are not included in this report.

Table 5b

GOALS, EMPHASES, TRENDS, AND PERCEIVED STRENGTHS IN CANADIAN SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA, 1974

Content/Skill Area	Seen as Goal N	Seen as Emphasis	N	Seen as Important Trend	N	Actually Practiced	Seen as Strength
Knowledge and understanding of Canadian society--local, provincial, national	10	High	11	Mod-high	11	All provinces	B.C., N.B., P.E.I., N.W.T.
Knowledge and understanding of the world community	11	Low-mod.	7-11	Low-mod.	8-10	Sask., Man., Ont., N.S., Nfld.	None reported
Knowledge and understanding of the social sciences (subject disciplines)	4	High	9	N/A		B.C., Alta., Man., Ont., Que.	Sask., Ont.
Understanding of attitudes, feelings, values, and behavior	4	N/A		N/A		Related to valuing skills	None
Ability to get along with others (coping skills)	6	N/A		N/A		As above	None
Inquiry skills (inductive processes)	9	Low-mod.	11	low-mod.	11	Sask., Ont., Que., N.B.	Sask., Que.
Problem-solving and decision-making skills	6	N/A		Mod.	10	None reported	Alta.
Valuing skills	7	Low-mod.	10	Low-mod.	10	B.C., Alta., Ont., Que., N.B., N.S.	None
Citizenship Skills	8	N/A		N/A		None	None

Content/Skill Area	Seen as Goal N	Seen as Emphasis	N	Seen as Important Trend	N	Actually Practiced	Seen as Strength
Communication skills	2	N/A		N/A		None	None
Map skills	4	N/A		N/A		None	None
Canadian "identity"	4	N/A		Mod.-high		None	None
Defensible value system	3	N/A		N/A		Related to valuing skills	None
Survival, Enhancement of quality of life	3	N/A		N/A		None	None
Interdisciplinary content and approaches	N/A	High (elem.); low-mod. (sec.)	11	N/A		Alta., Sask., Ont., N.B., Nfld.	Alta., Sask., Man.
Lecture	N/A	Low (elem.); mod-high (sec.)	11	N/A		None	None
Discussion	N/A	Low-mod-high	10	N/A		None	None
Hypothesis testing	N/A	low-low-mod.	10	N/A		None	None
Small-group activity	N/A	low-mod-high	11	N/A		None	None
Individual assignments	N/A	low-mod.-high	10	N/A		Included in learning packages	None
Field trips and surveys	N/A	low-mod.	11	N/A		None	None
Memorization	N/A	low-mod-high	10	N/A		None	None
Canada Studies Foundation Projects	N/A	N/A		low-low mod.	11	All provinces except N.W.T.	N.B.

Content/Skill Area	Seen as Goal N	Seen as Emphasis	N	Seen as Important Trend	N	Actually Practiced	Seen as Strength
Learning Packages	N/A	N/A		Low-low mod.	10	Alta., Ont.	None
Environmental education	N/A	N/A		N/A		B.C., Man., Que., Nfld.	None
Flexibility in content and methods	N/A	N/A		N/A		Que., N.S., P.E.I., Nfld.	B.C., Alta., Sask., Man., Ont., Que., P.E.I., Nfld., N.W.T.
Local development of curriculum by teachers	N/A	N/A		N/A		B.C., Alta., N.S., P.E.I., Nfld.	B.C., N.S., Alta., N.B., Ont., Nfld.
Evaluation of social studies curriculum	N/A	N/A		N/A		Alta., N.B.	None
Abolition of external examinations	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	B.C., Man., Ont., Que.
Increasing openness of teachers and education officials to new ideas	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	Sask., Man., N.S.
Growing cooperation between teachers, universities and department of education	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	Sask., P.E.I.

Note: N = number of provinces reporting; N/A = noninclusion of certain categories in some area of the survey instrument.

Comparison of Goals and Emphases

As shown in Table 5b, the major goals identified in regard to knowledge and understanding were cited most frequently in virtually every province. Following closely were goals identified in the skills area. (In the former area, the goals stated applied to Canada and the world; in the skills area, the goals dealt largely with inquiry and valuing strategies, citizenship, and the ability to get along with others.) Cited considerably less often were such affective goals as acceptance of self, awareness of a Canadian "identity," and the terminal goals of survival and the enhancement of life.

In comparing the goals stated with the reported emphases on substantive content, the relationship appeared to be consistent, insofar as content related to subject disciplines and Canada (local, provincial, and national) was concerned. That is, the frequent and widespread mention of knowledge and understanding goals varied directly with the largely high emphasis reportedly given to Canadian and subject discipline content. In contrast, the stated emphasis on content relating to the world was generally only low to moderate, suggesting a markedly weaker relationship between relevant goals and actual emphasis on world content. The weakest relationships were found in regard to content in world trade, comparative economic systems, international cooperation, the United Nations, and (weakest of all) in the work of special agencies for world peace and order.

A rather weak relationship also appeared between the frequently expressed goals related to skills and the low-to-moderate emphasis reported on field trips and surveys, valuing, inductive processes, and hypothesis testing. On the other hand, although there was (as expected) almost no mention of goals related to lecture, discussion, small-group activity, individual assignments, and memorization, the reported actual emphasis on these processes was markedly higher (with the exception of memorization, on which the reported emphasis across Canada varied widely). In large part, skill development appeared to have relatively low priority in the social studies.

Comparison of Goals, Emphases, and Trends

As seen in Table 5b, the perceived importance of trends related to Canadian topics and Canadian "identity," which ranged generally from moderate to moderate-high, was the highest reported. In contrast to the relatively high importance attached to trends related to Canadian topics, those related to world peace and order and world cultures (not listed in Table 5b) were seen to have only low-to-moderate importance. Approximately the same degree of importance was assigned to valuing processes, inductive processes, and problem solving, and only low to low-moderate importance was reported for learning packages.

In addition to those listed in the questionnaire, other curriculum-development trends were reported by respondents. Among these, the most significant appeared to be the local development of curriculum through teacher involvement. In most provinces west of the Maritimes, a strong trend was reported toward emphasis on social science content, and an active trend was also indicated toward interdisciplinary content and approaches. Greater flexibility in curriculum content and use of resources (which later became common elsewhere in Canada) appeared to be developing in Quebec and in the Maritime Provinces. Environmental education was mentioned as a trend in several provinces. In Alberta and New Brunswick, plans for evaluation of social studies curricula appeared to be in the making.

Comparing trends (Table 5b) to goals and emphases, the relationship between Canadian content and issues was largely consistent. The relationships between goals and actual emphases in relation to world peace and order and world cultures, however, suggest that there was some inconsistency between the widely stated relevant goals, on the one hand, and the relatively low emphasis and perceived importance assigned to these topics, on the other.

Although goals related to subject disciplines were identified in only four provinces, the perceived degree of emphasis on these disciplines was seen to be high. Trends in this area were evident in almost all of Canada west of the Maritime Provinces, suggesting a high degree of consistency between emphases and trends.

In regard to process (skill) development, it has already been noted that the relationship between goals and emphases was weak; although goals in the area of skill development loomed large, the reported emphasis on skill development was only low to moderate. A similar degree of importance was attached to trends in such skill areas as valuing processes, inductive processes, and problem solving. Although references to skill development in valuing and inductive processes were numerous and widespread west of the Maritimes, a conspicuous inconsistency appears between the "moderate importance" rating generally assigned to problem solving and the total absence of any reference to actual development in this area.

Perceived Strengths in Social Studies Curricula

To enhance observations which cross five sections of the questionnaire, it may be helpful to summarize the major findings presented in Table 5b. To facilitate generalization, the range of ratings was compressed by excluding single-province responses at each extreme. Also excluded was any goal stated in only one province.

The picture presented in Table 5b shows a marked variation between stated major goals, emphases, and trends, on the one hand, and strengths, on the other. In other words, most of the stated goals, emphases, and trends seem to have been abandoned and replaced by developments perceived in most provinces to be sources of strength in a social studies program: growing flexibility in curriculum content, approaches, and methods. Among the example provided of such developments were the abolition of external examinations, the increasing openness of some teachers and provincial departments of education officials to new ideas, local development of curriculum by teachers, and the use of interdisciplinary content and approaches.

With regard to the stated goals, it can be seen that none were widely cited as curriculum strengths. The seeming preoccupation with Canadian, provincial, and local studies was reported as a strength in only four provinces, representing among them only a small fraction of Canada's population. Knowledge and understanding in the social sciences and development of inquiry skills were viewed as strengths, in each instance, in only two provinces, and problem solving (decision making) was reported as a strength only in Alberta.

Knowledge and understanding of the world community, although stated as a goal in all provinces, was rated only low to moderate in emphasis and importance. References to developments related to this goal appeared in responses from five provinces, but no strengths were reported in this area of social studies. Similarly, although statements from seven provinces identified the institution of valuing activities as a trend, no response identified it as a strength. Apart from mention of the growing cooperation among teachers, universities, and departments of education in Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island, no other strength was identified in more than one province.

Perceived Weaknesses in Social Studies Curricula

The rather surprising and extremely conspicuous finding here was that the perceived major weaknesses were not directly related to social studies curricula. The following weaknesses were reported by two, three, or four provinces:

1. Increased opportunity, as a result of greater flexibility, for unwise use of time (British Columbia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island).
2. Increasing difficulty in evaluating student progress and/or the curriculum (British Columbia, Alberta).
3. Absence of a carefully defined sequence of skills and/or concepts and topics (Alberta, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland).
4. Lack of new curriculum materials (Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island).
5. Lack of ministerial curriculum guidelines for teachers; inadequate provincial leadership (Alberta, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island).
6. Overdidactic, fact-oriented, textbook-dominated teaching (British Columbia, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland).
7. Interpretation of "social studies" as history and geography (Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland).
8. Lack of involvement of students in real-life situations to enhance understanding (New Brunswick, Newfoundland).

It should be noted that items 1-5 are related to growing flexibility in the curriculum. When viewed as a single group of factors, they can be seen to come from nine provinces; thus they could be construed to be a notable set of arguments opposing the movement toward greater flexibility. When compared with items 6-8, however, the strength of this argument seems greatly diminished. On balance, growing flexibility in the curriculum appears to have been viewed as a strength, rather than as a weakness, in Canadian social studies curriculum development.

Two other weaknesses reported, in two and three provinces respectively, were the low priority given to social studies in the schools and the lack of coordination among various educational authorities and groups involved in the social studies curriculum. The weaknesses most often reported were in regard to preservice and inservice training. Dissatisfaction with university and teachers' college preservice programs was reported from seven provinces; lack of leadership personnel, funds, time, and expertise needed to conduct inservice programs designed to help teachers develop the skills and materials required for new programs was cited in all provinces, with one exception.

Recommendations for Improvement in Social Studies

Suggestions for improvement in preservice and inservice training were received from most provinces. The recommendations most frequently made were for more (and improved) inservice training programs and for extended and/or improved training at universities and colleges in curriculum and instruction. The deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the preservice and inservice training of social studies teachers was further evident in the following additional suggestions, all of which were offered from more than one province:

1. Closer cooperation among universities, schools, and provincial departments of education (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, New Brunswick, Newfoundland).

2. Training of more leaders in curriculum development and instruction; e.g., consultants and social studies deparment heads (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec).

3. Development of stronger social studies councils at the local, provincial, and national levels (Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick).

4. Establishment of an internship program for student teachers (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia).

In addition to these four suggestions, eight others were vouchsafed in regard to inservice training by at least one province. Indeed, of the 32 suggestions recorded. 14 were related to the inservice and preservice preparation of social studies teachers, with what would seem to be a somewhat larger emphasis on inservice training.

Complementing the numerous suggestions to improve inservice training was a noticeable expression of desire to provide more local autonomy and incentives for local curriculum development by teachers (British Columbia, Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland). In addition, there were suggestions for the establishment of teacher centers for curriculum development (British Columbia, New Brunswick).

The following suggestions for curriculum improvement were offered in at least two provinces:

1. More scientific rigor to balance the "humanistic" approach and emphasis on valuing and inquiry techniques (Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, Prince Edward Island).

2. Development of programs better suited to students' needs and interests (Manitoba, Quebec, Prince Edward Island).

3. Provision of more time and materials for the study of Canadian content (Quebec, Prince Edward Island).

4. Provision for Canadian problems to be viewed in a more-humanitarian, world perspective (Quebec, Newfoundland).

5. Greater emphasis on and improved methodology for interdisciplinary approaches (Quebec, Prince Edward Island).

6. Greater flexibility in the curriculum (Ontario, New Brunswick).

7. "Better" sequencing of themes, "better" guidelines, and "better"-defined objectives for programs (Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island).

8. Greater availability of curriculum materials (Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland).

9. Evaluation of social studies programs (British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec).

Because suggestions 6 and 7 above appear to contradict each other, it is difficult to assess their significance, particularly in view of the fact that one province, Ontario, is a source of both suggestions. Obviously there was disagreement among social studies teachers over the trend toward greater flexibility in the curriculum.

Apart from the widespread need for more curriculum materials (suggestion 8), suggestions 1 and 5, calling for improved methodology, together constitute the largest single grouping of suggestions in the list. Next in order of respondents' concerns, apparently, was the need to develop programs better suited to the needs and interests of students. Finally, from two provinces, in each instance, came suggestions that more time and materials be provided for the study of Canadian content and that Canadian problems be viewed in a more-humanitarian, global perspective.

In summary, the suggestions for improvement offered by survey respondents indicate that the greatest needs in social studies were for extended and improved inservice and preservice programs to develop teachers' and students' inquiry and valuing competencies for purposes better suited to students' "needs" and "interests," however defined. There was also evidence of a substantial need for appropriate curriculum materials.

Conclusions

The findings of the survey were used in an effort to answer two questions: How closely related was social studies in Canada to the Canadian and world scene? How closely did social studies practices in Canada conform to the "new" social studies as defined in Canada and the United States?

In regard to the first question, the stated emphasis, perceived importance, and actual practices were revealed to favor Canadian content more than any other. In order to determine how adequately such content reflected the Canadian scene, however, other findings were examined.

There was a notable lack both of references to Canadian content as being either a strength or a weakness in social studies curricula and of suggestions for improvement in such content. Canadian content was seen as a strength in only four provinces (British Columbia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories), and was never reported as a weakness. Only two provinces (Quebec and Prince Edward Island) suggested that more time and materials be provided for the study of Canadian content. However, respondents in two provinces (Quebec and Newfoundland) also suggested that Canadian problems be viewed in a more-humanitarian, global perspective.

In general, it would thus seem that respondents were at least not dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of Canadian content. It would also appear that, in the view of most, social studies curricula in Canada bear a sufficient relationship to the Canadian scene.

In regard to the relationship of social studies in Canada to the world scene, a similar conclusion was reached, although world content was seen to receive markedly lower emphasis along with a similarly lower perspection of its importance as a trend in social studies curricula. There were virtually no references to world content as being either a strength or a weakness in social studies, and few suggestions for improvement in such content.

Goals related to valuing and inquiry processes and skills received relatively low emphasis and perception of importance (as trends), in comparison with goals related to Canadian content. Considering the large number and variety of such processes, they were not impressively exemplified as trends. As in the case of world content, the process elements of social studies curricula were not generally reported as strengths or weaknesses in social studies. However, the need for better processes and skills for implementing programs was often mentioned. It seems evident, therefore, that social studies in Canada did not, at the time of the survey, adequately meet the expectations of the "new" social studies, nor did it appear to satsify the requirements of Smith's "survival curriculum" or Spencer's "primary goals."

Lack of process skills evidently formed the principal connection between expressed weaknesses in social studies curricula and the widespread desire for improved preservice and inservice training programs. The survey respondents indicated that preservice and inservice programs should be improved in order to help teachers (1) formulate objectives in the cognitive, affective, and skills areas, (2) develop curriculum materials, (3) develop inquiry and valuing skills, (4) develop methodology for interdisciplinary approaches, and (5) evaluate student progress and the effectiveness of social studies programs. The critical questions now seem to be:

1. Where will the required leadership and expertise for teacher upgrading come from?
2. Who will provide the funds required for extended and improved preservice and inservice programs and for teachers' participation in inservice programs?
3. When, if ever, will funds for the necessary provisions of curriculum materials be available?

As the floodgates of curricular freedom have opened, teachers' abilities to handle such freedom do not seem to have kept abreast of the change. This disparity was early apparent in Alberta, where the dismantling of traditional programs (in the middle 1960s) began. That the likely consequence of the continuation of this disparity will be a return to more-traditional processes and prestructured content is suggested by the growing emphasis on the content of social science disciplines.

The future development of social studies curricula in Canada may also be increasingly affected by legislation requiring even greater emphasis on Canadian content. Flexibility in course programming will be seriously threatened if recent developments in Alberta spread to other provinces. In Alberta, a school board in a major center initiated, on its own authority, a Canadian history course at the grade 10 level, and there are presently demands for more Canadian content at the junior high school level (grades 7-9).[16]

Summary

The Alberta situation reflects the sudden apparent reversal of the educational pendulum in Canada that took place in the latter part of the 1970s. Demands for a return to the "basics," to the teaching of the country's cultural heritage, and to a greater formalization of objectives and examinations have become widespread. Local school systems and provincial departments are introducing standardized examinations in response to the "back-to-basics" movement and, perhaps, to the growing number of religious and other alternative schools that have recently been established throughout Canada.

For the social studies in Canada, as in the United States, such curricular turnabouts are not new.[17] The "enterprise" approach of the 1930s, which had originated in the United States, failed to take firm root and perished as a movement in the 1940s. Similarly, the thrust of the "inquiry" approach of the 1960s is weakening in the face of agitation for and change toward more "Canadian" content, a return to the "basics," and provincial examinations.[18]

It might be said that the Vietnam War, racial strife in the United States, student activism, and other developments on a broad front of human rights issues produced the "new," inquiry-oriented social studies in the 1960s. Canadians today--struggling with inflation; an insecure economy; economic, social, and political divisiveness; and a search for a national identity--have a natural desire to attack these problems in the schools. Time may tell whether the effort will produce the desired results or whether it will eventually prove to be a futile exercise in scapegoating and wishful thinking.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. This survey was conducted by the writer in 1974.

2. G.S. Tomkins, "National Consciousness: The Curriculum and Canadian Studies," *British Columbia Journal of Education* 20 (Spring 1974), pp. 41-61.

3. Edward Raitz, "A Comparative Study of Objectives in the Senior High School Social Studies in Western Canada" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), p. 10.

4. Ibid.

5. Raitz, "A Comparative Study," p. 24.

6. Raitz, "A Comparative Study," p. 123.

7. Raitz, "A Comparative Study," pp. 15-20.

8. R.I. Langevin, "A Comparison of Secondary School Social Studies Programs of the Provinces of Canada" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), p. 17.

9. Michael Scriven, "Education for Survival," in Gloria Kinney, ed., *The Ideal School* (Wilmette, Ill.: Kagg Press, 1969), pp. 57-72.

10. Scriven, "Education for Survival," p. 42.

11. Scriven, "Education for Survival," p. 76.

12. Darryl Smith, "A Survey of Survival Curriculum Criteria in the Alberta Social Studies Curricula Since 1930" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Calgary, 1972), pp. 22-23.

13. Smith, "Survey of Survival Curriculum Criteria," p. 55.

14. Herbert Spencer, *Herbert Spencer on Education*, ed. F.A. Cavenaugh (London: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 10-13.

15. Joseph Katz, *Education in Canada* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1974), pp. 49, 59.

16. Alberta Department of Education, "Memorandum to Secondary Social Science Curriculum Committee Members," November 28, 1974.

17. Robert Barr et al., *Defining the Social Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977), pp. 15-55.

18. J.W. Kehoe, "Survey of Some Beliefs of Social Studies Teachers in the Province of British Columbia," *Exploration* 13 (February 1973), pp. 39-43.

6. Social Studies in China

The Molding of the Good Chinese Citizen

By M. Eugene Gilliom

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To comprehend social studies education in any society, one must view it in the light of that society's unique past and dominant values. This is particularly true when dealing with China. The People's Republic of China was born out of revolution, and its system of education reflects both the conditions which spawned that revolution and the values which guided it. Although many traditions and values which evolved during China's 4,000-year history continue to linger, dramatic changes have occurred in this ancient land since 1949. These changes are clearly reflected in China's system of education. It is the "New China" on which this chapter will focus.

Social Environment and Tradition

People who visit the People's Republic of China are frequently requested by their hosts not to compare conditions in China today with those in the industrialized nations. Rather, they are asked to contrast living conditions in the People's Republic with the plight of the Chinese people prior to Mao Tse-tung's seizure of power following World War II. This request seems reasonable. Whereas the U.S. experiment in democratic government, for example, with its attendant economic and social developments, has had more than 200 years to mature, efforts by the Chinese to remold their society along the thinking of Mao Tse-tung have been under way for barely 30 years. Clearly, China is decades away from achieving the level of modernization accomplished by the highly developed, industrialized nations. Yet, one must be impressed by the gigantic strides taken by the Chinese to improve their lot since the formation of the People's Republic in 1949.

Just as China has experienced dramatic social and economic changes during the past 30 years, she has also been subject to shifts in the political winds, both internationally and domestically. Insofar as educational policies and practices in China are closely tied to politics, it is essential that an analysis of social studies education be carried out with the dynamics of Chinese politics in mind.

In the early 1950s China turned to the USSR for friendship and aid--an act which, in the minds of many people, gave credence to the myth of a monolithic, worldwide communist movement. By the early 1960s, however, Sino-Soviet relations has soured to the point that a split between the two powers was inevitable. Today, the two countries are at sharp odds ideologically, and there is constant and dangerous bickering along their mutual border. Fear of Soviet aggression seems constantly to be on the minds of the Chinese, a factor which clearly influences the forming of both domestic and foreign policies.

Internally, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution during the period 1966-1969 tore much of China asunder politically.[1] Although the Cultural Revolution may never be fully understood, it appears to have been instigated by Mao Tse-tung in an effort to cleanse the country of revisionism. At the end of the mass mobilization and turmoil which accompanied the Cultural Revolution, Mao's opponents in the party structure had been removed, a revolutionary fervor had been rekindled, and Mao's policies regarding agrarian economic development and political institutions had been adopted. Developments during the Cultural Revolution clearly have had a lingering effect in China--particularly in education--and the Chinese view that period as a benchmark in the nation's history.

Most people were taken aback when in 1971 an American table-tennis team was invited to visit China, thus cracking a door that had been virtually closed to U.S. visitors for decades. Since President Nixon's historic trip to the People's Republic the following year, American-Chinese relations have gradually continued to expand and improve. Today, thousands of United States citizens, as well as other visitors from around the world, travel to China annually, and trade between China and her world neighbors is on the upswing.

It appears that China's willingness to open herself increasingly to the outside world--particularly to the West--is due in large measure to the assumption of power by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Following Mao Tse-tung's death at the age of 82 in September 1976, a power struggle between the followers of Hua and those of Chiang Ching, Mao's widow, disrupted life and production throughout China. The struggle for leadership was accompanied by numerous public demonstrations, occasional outbursts of violence, and work slowdowns and strikes. In October, Chiang Ching and three of her key Shanghai-based supporters--known in China as the Gang of Four--were arrested, and Hua Kuo-feng assumed the leadership of the Communist party and the country.

The year 1976 was a particularly trying one for China. The death of Mao Tse-tung and the ensuing jockeying for power between the followers of Hua Kuo-feng and those of the Gang of Four had been preceded by the deaths of two other influential leaders--Prime Minister Chou En-lai and Chu Te, a military genius who was considered the second-greatest hero of the Chinese revolution. That year also witnessed the devastating earthquakes in the Tangshang area, which reportedly killed 650,000 people.

China weathered the year of testing and emerged the stronger for it. The Chinese had proved to themselves and the rest of the world that their form of social organization and government could survive in the face of adversity, be it man-made or natural.

The People's Republic must now be recognized as a legitimate world power whose influence will be increasingly felt on the international scene. The country can no longer be treated as a mammoth curiosity or as a pawn to be manipulated by foreign powers. Its 900 million citizens--a quarter of the world's population--are caught up in a social, political, and economic experiment so sweeping and massive that it cannot realistically be ignored by the rest of the world. The implications of this experiment for education--particularly social studies education--demand our attention.

The Educational Setting

One of the first orders of business in China after liberation was the reforming of education. In old China schooling was available only to the privileged and the rich--sons of officials, wealthy landlords, and merchants. Children of peasants, with rare exceptions, were destined to a life of poverty, backbreaking toil, and ignorance. For centuries the small class of ruling elite had perpetuated its power by controlling access to education through the administration of a highly competitive system of examinations. The life of the scholar in traditional China required political connections as well as sufficient wealth and leisure time to devote to study. Although attempts were made to reform Chinese education early in the 1900s in a move to counteract foreign dominance, the effort was largely futile. By 1949, when the Communist party came to power, China was plagued by illiteracy and by a population hampered by a legacy of superstition and a sense of inferiority.

The educational problems facing the new regime were overwhelming. School buildings, equipment, and trained teachers were in short supply, and a curriculum consistent with the goals of the new egalitarian Chinese society had to be developed. From the beginning, two basic principles guided educational reform: schools should be viewed as vehicles for moral and political indoctrination, and education should focus primarily on the learning of practical skills. Although the curriculum of Chinese schools during the years since 1949 has reflected the ebb and flow of politics, the commitment to these two principles has remained essentially unaltered.

Following liberation a massive effort was launched to assure that educational opportunities were available to everyone and that study was integrated with manual labor. Although this effort initially was to a large extent successful, by the late 1950s the Chinese leaders had become concerned with much that was happening in education. It appeared that schools were reverting to many preliberation practices. University entrance examinations increasingly favored the children of the intellectuals, cadres, and members of former privileged classes. Students were encouraged to compete with one another while striving for personal prestige and gain. Old attitudes favoring intellectual activity, to the detriment of labor, were reemerging. Many teachers who had been trained in preliberation China continued to view education as a tool to further self-interest rather than as a means to serve the people and the socialist cause.

During the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), a period when radical reforms were initiated in industry and agriculture, an attempt was made to bring the schools back into line and to ensure that education was linked to production. These reforms failed to bring about the desired changes, however, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966 at the instigation of Mao Tse-tung. For the next three years Chinese education was in turmoil.

The Cultural Revolution was initiated when Mao called for a nationwide "revolt of the masses" against revisionism and against party leaders and bureaucrats who, he felt, were forming a growing Soviet-style elite. Although the Cultural Revolution touched everyone in China, from the humblest peasant to members of the Communist party hierarchy, it especially affected the educational establishment. Universities and many middle schools were closed as political factions debated which revolutionary line China should follow. Professors and teachers who were branded as revisionists or "capitalist roaders" were vilified and humiliated. Red Guards, mostly middle school and university students, roamed the countryside, seeking out persons whose political thinking was at variance with Mao's and subjecting them to public ridicule. By the time Mao moved to wind down the Cultural Revolution in 1969, the party had been purged of his most prominent adversaries, and revolutionary zeal along the lines of Mao's thinking had been rekindled.

The Cultural Revolution had an impact on education at all levels. Educational policies were redesigned in an effort to conform to Mao's philosophy, and the curriculum was retooled to more-clearly reflect socialist values. Schools were revamped in an attempt to ensure that all students would receive a balanced education--morally, intellectually, and physically. Greater emphasis was placed on learning practical skills which could later be used when young people joined the work force. The period of required schooling was shortened, and students were required to leave the classroom periodically to learn from the peasants, workers, and soldiers. In an effort to bridge the gap between theory and practice, school factories were established so that students could be introduced firsthand to the value of productive labor. A program was inaugurated which called for virtually all new middle-school graduates to "go to the countryside" for a minimum of two years, where they were expected to work side by side with the peasants before making decisions about their future education or their roles in the work force. University entrance examinations were largely eliminated, and children of workers and peasants were given special consideration when applying for university enrollment. Teachers and professors were required to forgo research and writing so that they could more fully concentrate on working directly with students.

The Cultural Revolution was a difficult period of struggle, criticism, and transformation for China. At its height it was marked by violence, political purges, and the disruption of production and daily life. Yet it also was a period of soul searching, reevaluation, and recommitment. If, in fact, China had begun a drift toward Soviet-style revisionism in the early 1960s, the Cultural Revolution appeared to jerk the country back on course. In spite of the cleansing effect of this period of turmoil, however, harmony and stability were not assured in China. Rather, there followed a period of growing confusion and tension, particularly in education, which culminated with the rise of Hua Kuo-feng and the arrest of the Gang of Four in October 1976.

Recent reports from China indicate that significant educational changes are now under way. The catalyst for the current movement seems to be the desire of the Hua government to speed up the modernization of China. Many Chinese educators now admit that educational policies growing out of the Cultural Revolution hindered the development of a highly trained modern labor force. As a result, there is a pressing need for educated specialists and technicians at all levels. In an effort to meet this need, many educational policies of the past ten years are being reversed. Quality and rigor in education are being stressed, with increasing attention again being given to the brightest students. In the selection of university students, academic achievement and performance on examinations are taking priority over political reliability and "consciousness." Growing numbers of qualified middle-school graduates are being admitted directly to universities rather than first serving the heretofore mandatory two years "in the countryside." Examinations, attacked during the Cultural Revolution as being elitist, are being reinstituted at all levels. Teachers are being given increasing power to discipline students and to demand high quality work. Teaching materials and textbooks are being revised and improved.

To the outside observer, the frequent shifting of educational policies in China seems confusing and contradictory, particularly insofar as each reform movement is claimed to be consistent with Chairman Mao's principles on revolutionizing education. Some people fear that the revisions currently under way will lead to the reemergence of an educated elite and a betrayal of the principles of the revolution. Whether this fear is valid, and whether the reform will in fact speed up modernization, remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that education will continue to be viewed in China as an extremely important enterprise and that the schools will play a vital role in the shaping of China's destiny.

The Social Studies--An Overview

A fact of existence in China today is that essentially all aspects of life are politicized. As a result, the structure, goals, and curriculum of Chinese schools at any point in time reflect the political dynamics and dogma of the moment. Therefore, a basic and persistent concern of Chinese schools since liberation has been the training of citizens who conform to Mao's political ideology and who fit neatly into the monolithic society of New China. To speak of the social studies in the Chinese context, is therefore, to speak primarily of citizenship education, a concern which permeates the curriculum from top to bottom.

From the day a child is born in China until he enters adulthood he is flooded with a barrage of messages telling him what is expected of the Chinese citizen. To Westerners the rhetoric seems almost childlike and ritualistic--out of another century. They tend to view it skeptically. To the Chinese it is dead serious. The message is essentially this: A good Chinese citizen serves the people through participating in productive labor . . . is loyal to Chairman Hua and the Communist party of China . . . loves and defends the motherland . . . helps others in times of need . . . respects his elders and members of the People's Liberation Army . . . is physically fit . . . studies and works hard for the revolution and full modernization . . . conserves China's natural resources . . . is self-sufficient . . . takes the heavy load.

The values, beliefs, and behaviors implied by these expectations lie at the heart of Chinese life and education today. A continuation of the current political system in the People's Republic will likely be largely dependent on the regime's success in transmitting these commitments to its youth. Clearly, the schools will play a major role in this process.

Preschool

Although the practice is not universal in China, children often enter nurseries at the tender age of 56 days. Such nurseries are commonly attached to factories where the babies' mothers are employed, thus providing them with opportunities to nurse and care for their infants periodically during the working day. Children customarily are cared for in nurseries until about the age of three, when they are transferred to kindergartens.

Infants in China tend to be viewed during the first year or so as being helpless and dependent; infant care is focused primarily on proper feeding and maintaining healthy surroundings. Little is done formally to stimulate the intellectual development of the children until they are toddlers. Then, education becomes a matter of careful planning.

At about the age of two the children begin to manipulate simple art materials, learn the names of common objects, and tend to personal hygiene. They learn to follow routines in an orderly manner and to participate in playground activities and exercise. Not simply by chance, the toddlers are surrounded with colorful patriotic posters and told stories of the people's heroes in terms they can understand; they are the recipients of a steady barrage of songs, dances, and plays celebrating the workers, peasants, soldiers, the Communist party, and productive labor. In short, their lifelong course in political indoctrination has begun.

Kindergarten

Children enter kindergarten at the age of four and spend three years there. The budding concept of citizenship which has been planted in infancy is now carefully nurtured. The kindergarten curriculum normally focuses on six areas of study: Chinese language and politics, mathematics, singing and dancing, painting and drawing, physical training, and productive labor. The list appears at first glance to be relatively apolitical. It is not.

Every subject in the curriculum is viewed as providing opportunities for implanting ideological seeds. In the study of language, for example, the children read stories about evil landlords of the bitter past and their efforts to suppress the peasants. Stories describing the deeds of well-known heroes and heroines of the socialist cause are related time and again, and the children are encouraged to pattern their behavior accordingly. Mathematics lessons also typically have a heavy ideological flavor. During a field trip to a commune, for example, pupils may meet with peasants who not only tell them stories of the "bad old days" before liberation but also provide them with lessons in calculating the amount of fertilizer required to grow so many *mus* of wheat. In the Chinese kindergarten the examples used in teaching mathematics which are common in the United States--apples, oranges, or balls--are replaced by such symbols of productive labor as tractors, sacks of rice, or sheaves of wheat.

Kindergarten classrooms in China come in a wide variety of sizes and shapes, but they share a number of commonalities. Classrooms tend to be modestly furnished; they are usually crowded (25-35 students to a room is not uncommon), and the walls abound with pictures and posters glorifying the workers, peasants, soldiers, and people's heroes. Other posters show beaming Chinese children carrying out their chores or otherwise behaving in a manner expected of children who are serving the people. One typical series of four posters tells the story of two Little Red Soldiers filling a hazardous pothole. On the first poster a small girl is shown falling into the pothole, soiling her clothes in the muddy water, as two older children wearing the red neckerchiefs of the Little Red Soldiers race to the rescue. In the second picture of the series, the Little Red Soldiers wipe the mud off their tiny friend's clothing and gently dry her tears. The next poster shows the children happily filling the pothole with dirt and stones. The moral of the story is driven home with the last poster, as one of the children leads grandmother safely across the filled-in pothole to the applause of a half-dozen children who had gathered to show their approval. The message in Chinese at the bottom of the last poster reads simply: "They are all glad that it has been covered." Strike another blow for citizenship.

Primary School

Chinese children normally enter primary school at age seven, with primary education lasting for five years. By 1972 it was reported that ten times as many pupils were attending primary school annually as had attended before 1949. Today, more than 90 percent of the country's primary-age children are said to be in school.[2] Most primary schools serve a given neighborhood; although in some instances, particularly in rural areas, children must travel a considerable distance to school. Such children are often boarded during the week. As is the case with kindergartens, primary classrooms are furnished in rather spartan fashion.

The curriculum of the typical primary school includes Chinese language, foreign language (usually English), mathematics, music, art, "common knowledge" (this can best be described as a combination of sciences, with emphasis on industry and agriculture and what one might refer to loosely as social studies), physical education, and political training. Whenever possible, study of the various subjects is infused with political themes which add to the pupils' growing awareness of their responsibilities in New China. Songs sung in the music class, for example, are selected not only for the sake of beauty but also for the revolutionary messages they contain. Science is studied not simply to help pupils comprehend the world around them, but rather, in terms of the contribution it can make to increasing production and to the modernization of China. The social studies segment of the "common knowledge" bloc consists primarily of the study of politics, in which the children are introduced to the thoughts and deeds of Communist heroes.

Every effort is made in Chinese schools to bridge the gap between theory and practice. After studying methods of agriculture in the common-knowledge segment of the curriculum, for example, primary students who live in the city are taken to the country, where they apply their classroom learning by participating in physical labor. Likewise, in the social studies segment of common knowledge, pupils frequently are taken on field trips to neighboring factories. There they extend their political training by meeting with the workers, carrying out "social investigations," and occasionally participating in production.[3] The purpose of such field experience is not only to bring fresh meaning to classroom studies but, perhaps more important, to glorify labor and to communicate to young people that every citizen is expected to make his or her contribution through productive work to modernizing the motherland.

Another way in which a positive attitude toward labor is encouraged is through the school factory. Every primary school has a pupil-operated workshop of some sort, often run in cooperation with a neighboring industry. The natures of the workshops vary, depending on the type of facilities and advice which are available and the needs of the local community. It is important to note that the work done in the small factories is not play work; it is legitimate, productive labor. Children in primary school factories package medicine for chickens, pack flashlight bulbs into cardboard containers, produce textiles, make locks for doors, and manufacture Chinese chess sets. The amount of time spent in the workshops increases with the age of the children. Pupils in the third and fourth grades usually devote two or three hours per week to labor, while fifth- and sixth-graders may spend one or two full weeks in the factory each term. In addition, many schools have small farms where the pupils care for livestock and raise crops. In short, children from a very early age are introduced to the idea that everyone is expected to participate in productive labor as a part of being a citizen of China.

Citizenship training in the primary school is further nurtured through student organizations and extracurricular activities. The most important organization for pupils at the primary level is the Little Red Soldiers. Pupils are selected for membership in the Little Red Soldiers as early as the first or second grade. By the time children reach the sixth grade, about 75 percent of them are Little Red Soldiers. A basic pupose of the organization is to provide leadership among the pupils in carrying out Mao Tse-tung's directive regarding the "three goods"--good health, study, and productive work. Members of the organization are expected to serve as leaders and as models of behavior for the other children. The Little Red Soldiers assume an important role in the operation of the primary school, and membership in the organization is highly prized.

Extracurricular activities provide opportunities to emphasize the role of the citizen in a variety of ways. After-school clubs are usually service oriented. In some schools, for example, children are organized into Lei Feng groups. (Lei Feng is a folk hero in China who is currently being held up to the children as a model of selflessness and sacrifice for the people.) In their spare time, children in the Lei Feng groups organize such activities as collecting manure for use as fertilizer on the communes and collecting scrap paper, iron, and glass, which they sell in order to buy tools for use at construction sites in the area. Some groups volunteer to clean school grounds on weekends, repair broken furniture, and paint the walls of their classrooms.

Other extracurricular clubs are organized to encourage participation in athletics (baseball, swimming, basketball, volleyball, and table tennis), while some provide opportunities to pursue interests in music and dance. A visit to a school by foreign guests provides the perfect opportunity for the music groups to share their activities. The students invariably are well trained and skillful, and the musical numbers are performed with great enthusiasm. Such programs provide further evidence of the pervasiveness of citizenship education in Chinese schools. The following musical program performed at a primary school in Sian during the summer of 1977 is typical:

"The Compatriots of Taiwan Are Our Blood and Flesh Brothers"
(male solo)

"To Plant the Sunflowers" (chorus)
"I Love Peking's Tien An Men" (chorus)
"Dance of the Bumper Harvest"
"Our Political Power Will Be Red Forever" (female solo)
"There's A Golden Sun In Peking" (chorus)
"Closely Follow Chairman Hua Kuo-feng" (chorus)
"The People's Liberation Army and the People" (dance)
"Keeping Busy Delivering Grain to the State" (orchestra)
"Folk Song to the Party" (male solo with accordion)
"Citizens of the City Support Agriculture" (cello solo)
"Comrade P.L.A. Soldiers, Please Stop for Awhile" (female solo)
"Premier Chou, Where Are You?" (chorus)

As has been shown, primary school education in China is designed to build on the preschool experiences of children. The pace of study has quickened and the curriculum become more sophisticated, but the dominant theme remains the same--that the purpose of education is to prepare each citizen to make his or her own contribution to China and to carry through the revolutionary cause as it is interpreted by China's current leaders. The stage has been set for the pupils' entrance into the middle school.

Middle School

One goal of the Chinese is to make five years of middle-school education available to all youths. Although impressive strides have been made in this direction since liberation, the goal has not yet been fully realized. Estimates of the percentages of students who attend middle school range from about 60 to 70 percent in the rural areas and from 80 to 90 percent in most urban areas. In some cities--for example, Nanking--the figure is virtually 100 percent.[4] The most common pattern of secondary education provides for three years of junior middle school followed by two years at the senior middle-school level. In some parts of the country, however, particularly in the rural areas, classes are offered only through the junior middle school. Although it is virtually impossible to calculate the total number of students enrolled in secondary schools, it is clear that the number is increasing and that the Chinese are moving steadily toward their goal of making middle-school education universally available throughout the country.

The middle-school curriculum is somewhat standard in various parts of China, with slight variations reflecting local needs and interests. Typical offerings include courses in politics, Chinese language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, English, history, geography, practical knowledge of agriculture and industry, and physical training. The school year commonly is divided into two terms, the first from early February to late July, the second from early September to late January. Students are in school six days a week from 8 a.m. until 4 p.m., attending six 40-minute classes with breaks for midmorning exercise and lunch.

The middle-school program is a logical extension of that offered in the primary school; it is heavily flavored with politics and serves to reinforce revolutionary thinking and values. According to a Mr. Ling, leader of the Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Team at Lao Wu Shiang Primary/Middle School in Sian, "We are training the successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao. We are preparing our students to continue to build our motherland when they grow up and to be red and expert in the future."[5] The phrase "to be red and expert"--heard repeatedly in China--captures much of the essence of Chinese education today. Although expertise of all types is increasingly valued as China moves toward modernization, politics clearly remains a dominant influence.

As in the primary school, instruction in the middle school is viewed from a revolutionary perspective. Courses in politics focus on the writings of communist heroes. The study of history concentrates on revolutionary movements around the world, with special attention given to China's revolutionary past. Students in agricultural classes learn to operate a tractor and plant and harvest crops. Literature studied in Chinese language classes recounts the deeds of selfless revolutionary heroes or describes in detail the crimes committed against the working people by the preliberation landlords. Few opportunities to drive home ideological messages are lost. A description of two classes observed by the author at the Number One Primary/Middle School in Linxien during the summer of 1977 provides a bit of the revolutionary flavor of the middle-school experience as well as an example of the teaching methodology commonly used in Chinese classrooms.

One class we visited was studying geometry. A review lesson was under way. The atmosphere was businesslike but pleasant. Portraits of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua dominated the front wall of the room. The focal point of discussion was a diagram of a disk drawn on the blackboard with chalk. A section of the disk had been shaded, and figures indicated the diameter of the disk. The teacher stated: "Let us assume that you are a worker in a local factory. Your job is to operate a cutting machine which trims pieces of metal to a specified shape. Given a disk of this size, if you shear off the shaded area, how large will the piece of scrap be? How much scrap metal would accumulate if you trimmed 1,000 disks on your machine?" The lesson continued in this vein, as the students not only strove to master principles of geometry but were reminded once again of the validity of labor and the necessity of wedding theory and practice.

In another classroom we visited, a lesson in English was under way. Sixty upper-middle-school students were squeezed shoulder-to-shoulder into a room designed for perhaps 40. Although two large fans turned lazily overhead, the room was stifling hot. The teacher, in a loud and strident voice, read in English a series of sentences from the blackboard. The students repeated the sentences in unison after him, surpassing his volume and matching his slight British accent. The sentences were revealing:

> We are pupils of New China.
> We study politics, Chinese, mathematics, physics, and other subjects.
> We have a school farm and a school factory.
> We mainly study culture and also study others.
> We study science and technology for the revolution.
> We try to make contributions to the accomplishment of the four modernizations.[6]
> We love our great leader, Chairman Hua.

We love the Communist party of China.

We study well and make progress every day.

Whether the students understood the literal meaning of the English words they were reading was not clear; however, it may be significant that volume and intensity peaked with the reading of "We love our great leader, Chairman Hua." Whatever the class might have learned about English grammar and vocabulary, it was clear that an equally important function of the lesson was to remind the students that as citizens in China it is their duty to serve the Communist party and the revolution. Judging by the self-assurance and enthusiasm with which the group read the sentences, it was obvious that they felt enormous pride in being a part of New China and that they were indeed determined to "study well and make progress every day."

Participation in productive labor is an important part of the middle-school program, as it is in the primary school. Every middle school has a factory in which students take part in physical labor for about a month each year. In addition, many schools have a small farm on which the students raise livestock and grow produce for consumption in the school cafeteria. The factories at this level are more sophisticated than those found in the primary school, and their products tend to be more complicated. Student-run factories produce such diverse items as drill presses, noodle-making machines, and transistors. In one middle school in Tientsin the students build all of the wooden furniture used in the school. Retired workers often aid teachers in supervising the student workers in the factories. This not only provides the older citizens with an opportunity to continue their service to the people through sharing their expertise, it also affords them the chance to "speak bitterness" to the young people--a common exercise in China, in which old-timers recount the desperate conditions of life before liberation.

Qualified students in the middle school become members of the Red Guard and/or the Communist Youth League.[7] Both organizations resemble the Little Red Soldiers of the primary grades in that members are expected to serve as models for their peers. Membership in the two organizations is based on dedication to study and work, political attitudes, and willingness to serve the people. In other words, members are expected to be prototypes of the good citizen.

The Red Guard is found only in the middle school, whereas qualified young people between the ages of 15 and 20 may join the Communist Youth League. As a result, some students are members of both organizations. Local option seems to be the rule governing membership. In some schools students in the junior middle school join the Red Guard, while those in the senior middle school become members of the Communist Youth League.

Both the Red Guard and the Communist Youth League are affiliated with the Chinese Communist party, and their activities are designed to further the cause of the party. Members of both groups often serve as advisers to the Little Red Soldiers, and both organizations sponsor such activities as after-school homework groups, political study sessions, visits to communes and factories, athletic events, and social service activities. These organizations provide an important training ground for future party members; perhaps more important, they create still other opportunities to publicly exemplify the sort of selfless behavior expected of the Chinese citizen.

By the time Chinese students have completed senior middle school, they have been subjected to an unrelenting ten-year bombardment of messages proclaiming what is expected of them as Chinese citizens. It is important to note, however, that the school experience does not occur in isolation; it is only one part of a total educational effort. Even during out-of-school hours Chinese students are exhorted to assume their responsibilities as citizens. Huge billboards located strategically throughout the cities remind one and all of the dignity of physical labor and urge passers-by to set aside self-interest and to serve the Communist party, Chairman Hua, and the people of China. The deeds of model citizens are glorified through popular music and dance. Although literary classics by non-Chinese authors are beginning to appear in China, most reading material available in bookstores continues to have a revolutionary theme.

There is no escaping it: at every turn, even with the gradual opening of China to the outside world by the Hua government, the Chinese are reminded of their obligations as citizens. The pressure to conform to those expectations is enormous. One wonders whether the Chinese will eventually become numbed by the constant echoing of political exhortations, and whether, with increased exposure to foreign influences, their fervor for revolution will be lost. Only time will tell. For now it is clear that the social studies, in the form of citizenship education, are alive and thriving.

A Case Study of Social Studies in China

The social studies in the People's Republic of China tend to be at once elusive and dominant. The term *social studies* is not used by Chinese educators, although such courses as history and geography, which are usually thought of as being a part of the social studies, are offered in the curriculum. These courses are taught, as one would expect, from a uniquely Chinese point of view, reflecting biases inherent in the Chinese perception of the world. The thread which ties such courses together and which links them with other school experiences is citizenship--the desire of the Chinese to mold their young people in the image of the "good citizen" in a manner consistent with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. The following case study, based on an interview recorded by the author in the People's Republic during the summer of 1977, provide further insight into Chinese education and into the central role played in education by the Chinese version of the social studies.

Interview with Mr. Li, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, Chang-an County #1 Middle School, Sian, the People's Republic of China, July 15, 1977

> Our school, Chang-an County #1 Middle School, is a rural middle school which was set up in 1941. At that time it was the only school in the whole county.
>
> In the beginning the school was very small, with only 30 rooms and 200 or 300 students. After liberation, education

in China developed greatly, and in 1953 our school became a regular middle school. Today the sons and daughters of the poor and lower-middle-class peasants can attend our school.

At present we have 22 classes, with 1,100 students and 82 teachers and staff members. The school covers an area of 8,300 square meters, and we have a library with more than 53,000 books. In addition, we have more than 3,000 pieces of educational equipment and we have three laboratories for physics, chemistry, and biology.

Before the Cultural Revolution, because of the influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, education in our school was divorced from proletarian politics, productive labor and the masses of workers and peasants. During the Cultural Revolution we criticized the revisionist line and party leadership of the school, and the workers and representatives of the former poor and lower-middle peasants entered the school. We also set up programs so that students could learn from industry and agriculture in order to implement Chairman Mao's May 7th directives.

At present the school has six workshops which produce threshers and milling machines for milling wheat flour. We also repair agricultural machines. We have a small farm with an area of 34 *mu* where we grow wheat and corn. We mainly cultivate good seeds of wheat and maize. We also have a livestock farm which helps the students to learn how to raise animals. The school has a link with four factories and eight production teams nearby the school in order to combine education with the three great revolutionary movements: class struggle, production, and scientific experiments.

Students regularly go to the factories and production teams to join in productive labor and to combine what they learn in the school with practice. We train our children to love our motherland and to be successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Since the Cultural Revolution, graduates of our school have played an active role in the countryside, and they have become the backbone of the movement in learning from Tachai.

The Gang of Four wanted to usurp power of the state and the party, and they frantically tampered with Chairman Mao's instructions and policies on education. They set practice against theory and learning from industry and agriculture against study and learning in school. They attacked regulations and rules in the schools, and sabotaged the revolutionary movement in education. They also claimed to prefer uneducated laborers to educated, bourgeois intellectuals. Under the leadership of our wise leader Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, the

Gang of Four was smashed at one blow. At present the teachers and students in our school are in high spirits, and their enthusiasm for socialism has been brought into full play. We act according to Chairman Hua's instructions, grasping the key link and running the country well. We have deepened the criticism and exposure of the crimes of the Gang of Four, and we intend to firmly implement Chairman Mao's instructions on education. We ask that the students take learning as their main task, and that they work to improve their study of theory and knowledge. We help the children to master practical knowledge and theory in order to prepare them for practice in the future. Since the smashing of the Gang of Four, we have restored regulations and rules in our school.

At present we are conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's fifth volume, and are criticizing and repudiating the crimes of the Gang of Four. We intend to rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, and to hold high the great red banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. We are determined to carry the revolution in education pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end. Following Chairman Mao's educational policy, we think that the students should take study as their main task and that they should mainly study cultural knowledge and politics. At present, the students have 13 classes: politics, Chinese, mathematics, physics, chemistry, agriculture, foreign language, history, geography, health, physical training, music and fine arts.

We teach the students practical knowledge about health and hygiene, the rate of population growth, and how to control the population through ideological education of the younger generation. Under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee of the school, we have a patriotic hygiene group. This group is in charge of environment and hygiene for the whole school. The students ask to be on duty every day, and every Saturday afternoon the teachers and students are mobilized to clean their classrooms and bathrooms. The environmental group examines the classrooms once a week, and once every two weeks they compare the classrooms to find which is the best.

I've mentioned that we set specific demands for each subject. The Gang of Four opposed students' mastering basic knowledge because they wanted to create confusion among the teachers and students and to usurp the power of state and party. After the crushing of the Gang of Four we persisted in these specific demands in each subject.

We also send students to factories and people's communes outside of the school, so that they can keep in touch with society.

The students spend eight months in study in the school and two months learning about industry and agriculture. Another

97

two months are for summer and winter vacations. The school's main task is to help students touch the society, workers, and peasants, and to transform their ideology by using what they learn in the school into practice. We call this combining theory with practice. Ours is a rural middle school, so our main task is to support agriculture. What the factory produces and the farm grows is sold to the state, and we get money from the state. We mainly use this money to expand our farm and workshops and to buy teaching materials and equipment for the school. The grain from our farm is used mainly for fodder for our livestock, and we cultivate good seeds for the nearby production teams. These are the two purposes of our small farm.

We think that teachers should be loyal to the party's educational cause and that they should study hard on their subjects. They should apply their minds to improving their methods of teaching. At the end of the year we have an evaluation of the teachers, and advanced teachers receive commendations. If you are commended as an advanced teacher you are considered a good example for other teachers.

Those teachers who have shortcomings are helped by our leaders to improve their consciousness and to correct their mistakes and shortcomings. Among the teachers there is a teaching research group, and members of this group often discuss their experiences and help each other. The students, teachers and Revolutionary Committee members join together to evaluate the teachers. The main purpose of evaluation is to increase the teachers' enthusiasm and to help them to improve their teaching.

Political education is part of the ideological job of the school, and teachers should use the basic viewpoint of Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse-tung Thought to educate the students. We try to increase the students' capacity for analyzing and solving problems and answering questions.

We teach the students practical theory and practical knowledge of Marxism, but in the past the Gang of Four opposed what we taught. At present we teach students of the junior middle school basic facts about historical materialism and we teach the students of the senior middle school basic Marxist philosophy. Lectures on situations at home and abroad are also given to the students, and we organize them into groups which study Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse-tung Thought. For studying Chinese politics we have recently added lessons on the criticisms of the Gang of Four, and the students have asked to make social investigations in the factory and in the countryside. Improvements have also been made in examinations. Before the Cultural Revolution we often used the method of "sudden attack." During the Cultural Revolution we changed this method in three ways. Now we have three types of examinations: written, oral, and practical examinations.

International Perspectives

The future of the schools in China and the potential impact of Chinese thinking on international education is unclear. To date, the Chinese have not appeared to be particularly interested in either exporting their ideas on education or importing ideas of others. Although it appears safe to assume that schooling in China will continue to reflect the rather narrow Chinese view of the world, the country's expanding involvement with other nations as it steps up efforts to modernize is certain to invite the infusion of new ideas on education. Whether the introduction of alien thinking will significantly affect Chinese schools remains a tantalizing question, to be answered in the future. Dealing with such foreign influences may well prove to be the greatest challenge to Chinese education since the formation of the People's Republic.

Although interest in Chinese education is bound to increase, it is questionable whether the Chinese model will be significantly applicable to other countries--particularly those that are more highly developed. This is especially true in regard to the Chinese approach to citizenship education. After all, each nation possesses its own heritage and customs, and its guiding values have emerged out of a unique national experience. Although Chinese schools appear to be admirably meeting the needs of the people, as those needs are currently defined, many visitors to the People's Republic find the unrelenting propaganda and the pressures to conform and to sacrifice individual liberties for the good of the state to be stifling if not crippling. Yet, one is struck by contrasts. Whereas many countries seem at times to be languishing, uncertain of their goals and priorities, the Chinese, in spite of their political bickering, appear to share a clear sense of purpose and common agreement on where they are going and how they are going to get there.

Whatever the destiny of China, the people appear convinced that an educated populace is essential to the future of the nation. Although the character of the schools predictably will continue to reflect political developments, it is unlikely that the Chinese passion for education will diminish. It also seems unlikely that the Chinese conception of citizenship will change appreciably. That being the case, Chinese-style social studies, in the form of citizenship education, will continue to lie at the heart of the school experience.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Although 1969 is commonly accepted as the terminating year of the Cultural Revolution, in fact much of the political activity of that period continued on a less-frantic scale into the 1970s.

2. William Kessen, *Childhood in China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 2. Specific statistics about Chinese education are virtually impossible to obtain; these figures represent educated approximations.

3. During social investigations, students often participate in action research. For example, they might analyze working conditions

in a factory or discuss with the workers their experiences in pre-liberation China.

4. Ruth Gamberg, *Red and Expert: Education in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 41.

5. Interview taped by the author in Sian, People's Republic of China, on July 6, 1977.

6. The term *four modernizations* refers to the concerted effort in China to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology.

7. The percentage of young people who belong to the Red Guard or to the Communist Youth League seems to vary with the school and community. In one middle school visited by the author, for example, it was reported that 60 percent of the students were members of the Red Guard, while in another school the figure was set at 40 percent.

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7. *Social Studies in Costa Rica*

Changing Needs in a Changing Society

By Dr. John E. Searles

John E. Searles is a professor at Pennsylvania State University in the field of social studies education. While at Penn State he has conducted research in several Latin American countries. He studied the verbal patterns of teachers in Costa Rica under a Ford Foundation grant, and served as a consultant to the Organization of Central American States for more than a year, conducting research on the textbook program for elementary schools in the Central American region. Searles served in Brazil for four years as an adviser in social studies education and conducted research on the feasibility of computer-based education in that country. Among his publications is the volume A System for Instruction.

* * * * * * * *

Costa Rica is not a country; it is a pilot project.

--Jose Figueres, President of Costa Rica 1948-1950, 1953-1958, 1969-1974

Situated on the Central American isthmus north of Panama and south of Nicaragua, Costa Rica is a topographically spectacular country with a central mountain range of active volcanoes and coastal plains bordering the Caribbean and the Pacific. Most of the population of almost 3 million is concentrated on a central plateau of moderate climate (albeit more rainy than the guidebooks would have it) in and near the capital city, San Jose.

The Costa Rican economy is based on bananas (grown on the south coasts), coffee (grown on the Meseta Central), a growing cattle industry (in the northwest), and light industry (in San Jose). The economy is relatively prosperous, with the contrasts between extreme wealth and extreme poverty less marked than in other nations of Latin America. The political setting is quite democratic, and the people are proud of their traditions of free elections, speech, and press. With a very small minority of Indians and a small black minority, principally on the east coast, the nation has a strong European cast. Many visitors remark on its strongly middle-class culture, centered in the family, the church, and relatively simple pursuits. Because it is small and socially integrated, Costa Rica is a land of few contrasts.

San Jose, the cultural and economic center, is typical of many of the Latin capitals; it is a pleasant, modern city, growing rapidly as a result of migration from the rural areas. In consequence, San Jose experiences typical urban problems related to traffic congestion, construction, and provision of services for the populace.

In this small country, education assumes an important role. A large proportion of the population is less than 15 years old, and the sheer number of youth puts burdens on the formal educational system. The past six to eight years, however, have been marked by diminishing enrollments in primary schools. The very successful family planning programs initiated during the early 1960s are showing their results, as families begin to diminish in size. Newlyweds are no longer pressured to have children right away; many young couples are primarily interested in jobs and degrees. Whereas middle-class families could afford to employ servants several years ago, new salary laws and increased opportunities for studying (obligatory nine grades of schooling) have dried up the servant market; a maid now is paid around $100 a month, plus room and board. All these factors have contributed toward postponement of parenthood and fewer children per family. The primary schools are feeling the pinch; average class size has dwindled from 40-45 children per teacher to nearer 30.[1]

We can examine these problems from two perspectives: a microeducational view of what happens in the classroom and a macroeducational view of a changing educational system in a changing society. The microeducational view is drawn from a study of the verbal styles of teachers in the secondary schools of San Jose in which more than 40 teachers were systematically observed during the course of a school year.[2] From the findings of this study, certain generalizations about the teaching of social studies can be drawn. In order to put these findings into context, the curriculum of studies is outlined.

But there is more to learning to live in society than what goes on in the classroom walls. A look at the society and the roles of the school is also necessary to round out the picture.

Learning to Live in Costa Rica: A Microeducational View

Systematically observing more than 40 teachers eight times each yields a great amount of data. From these data, generalizations can be drawn about how Costa Rican people are taught to learn to live in their society.

In 41 classes studied, 21 teachers presented a total of 2,636 instructional units, an average of 64.3 units per class. (An *instructional unit* is a group of words which contains a discrete bit of content which is separated, logically, from what has gone before or is coming after.) This means, roughly, that a new bit of information was presented every 30 seconds, leaving little time for consideration of that new knowledge. The general cognitive operation was expository, characterized by didactic presentation by the instructor. There was little elicitation of learner response, and such elicitation that existed seemed to be of the "fill-in-the-blank" variety. Little was done to structure information by showing its relationship to other information. Instruction was only rarely concerned with the value of information or of the values of the learner.

The purpose of instruction seemed to be to introduce new information rather than to consider old information, by either student responses, repetition, or reinforcement. Teachers' responses were usually confined to repeating pupils' own words. This was generally consistent behavior, not influenced by subject matter, type of training, or sex of the instructor.

Relatively few noncognitive units of information came from announcements or from efforts by the teacher to control the class. Almost all that the teacher said pertained to the subject at hand. There was relatively little speculation or exploration of the subject, and there were few opportunities for students to express value judgments or, indeed, do anything beyond reciting memorized words.

The pursuit of information was so rigid that teachers rarely engaged in any verbal gymnastics beyond merely making statements. Figures of speech, analogies, examples, and illustrations were conspicuous by their absence. The same efficiency was reflected in patterns of time utilization. Teachers presented material abruptly and rapidly; little attention was paid to what had gone before, and there were few summary statements.

The climate of interaction had certain characteristics:

1. Great value was placed on oratorical style. (This is generally true in Costa Rica, both in schools and in the culture as a whole; the net effect is that hardly a word is left unsaid, but a speaker may be at a loss for a thought if not a word.)
2. Students were not presented with problems with which to grapple. Although they might have dealt with problems in social studies, the learning process was one of applying previously memorized solutions rather than carrying out the steps of making hypotheses, marshaling evidence, and proposing and testing solutions.
3. Little conditional inference was demanded of the student, because the teacher did not establish conditions which promoted the intellectual activity of inferring. Instead of saying "Explorers suffered from malnutrition, were disease ridden, had no strong commander, and were lost," a teacher would say, "The explorers had a difficult time." The process of thought received less attention than the product of thought.
4. Students were not encouraged to go beyond the bounds of the immediate subject at hand. Stimulating questions were notable for their absence. (An analysis of 47 transcripts of classes failed to reveal one instance of a teacher asking "Why?") Explanations were rarely given; examples were rarely used.
5. Little attempt was made to provide for transfer of learning. Rarely did a teacher apply new knowledge to another situation; even more rarely were students asked to do so.
6. Whatever curiosity was displayed was focused on "what" rather than "why." The emphasis was on "What happens next?" rather than on "Why did it happen?"

These characteristics lent to classroom interactions a certain quality which permeated all dialogues: A point was made or a fact was stated by the teacher. Subsequent reinforcement came from exact repetition of the teacher's words by students and then again by the teacher, who might add a little more information. Reinforcement of ideas by repetition of phrases was the hallmark of instruction.

Conclusions

The schools in Costa Rica are characterized by rote memorization. There seems to be little sense of doubt or speculation and almost no intellectual exploration of the kind that leads students to broader horizons. Rote memorization is a strategy that not only closes the mind but also makes it content with what it has memorized.

Thus, instruction in Costa Rica is a very direct and straightforward process. Students tend to become certain of their knowledge and to experience few challenges from the unknown.

Learning to Live in Costa Rica: A Macroeducational View

The community of Santa Cruz, a town of about 8,000 in the province of Guanacaste in northwest Costa Rica, is experiencing the kind of transformation that comes with rapid industrialization, bringing new roads, new buildings, and new opportunities. A trading center for a rich agricultural region, Santa Cruz is built, in the Latin fashion, around two plazas, one of which contains a bandstand and benches and the other, a football field. The houses--which, for the most part, are modest and unpainted but well cared for--face unpaved streets that form a grid pattern comprising about a hundred blocks. As is the case in all of Latin America, the school system in Santa Cruz is controlled by the Ministry of Education; from this central authority, decisions are sent down the line of command to the teacher in the classroom.

During recent years there have been two major changes in the schools of Costa Rica: the secondary educational pattern has been reformed, and elementary classes have been provided with textbooks developed by a regional program sponsored by the Organization of Central American States. To obtain information about changes in education and the community two investigators lived in Santa Cruz while conducting interviews and visiting classes.[3] Interviews in one secondary school, which were focused on the effects of the *Reforma*, were conducted with the school principal and secretary (vice-principal) and with four teachers, two men and two women. Each teacher taught a different subject; two had been in the system for less than seven years, the other two for more than seven years. Interviews in the two elementary schools were conducted with the principals of the schools and with corresponding samples of teachers.

Characteristics of the Community

Time is a servant, not a master, in Santa Cruz. Schedules are casual, and appointments are only approximate. People's relationships with the material world are simple and uncomplicated; examples of relationships that differ from the norm are few and not jarringly evident. The community has a small slum area with some squatters' shacks. There is no ostentatious display of wealth, though there are some modern houses.

The people live in an oral/aural culture. Most of their ideas come from listening to others, and almost all of their thoughts are spoken aloud. Living in close proximity to relatively few persons, the people of Santa Cruz have developed their propensity for information-dispensing to a fine art; it is said that a *Guanacasteco* has an idea and a comment about everything--an observation substantiated by the interviews, which can best be described as guided monologues. The general impression is that of a middle-class culture composed of optimistic individuals, assertive in their independence, trying new life styles while at the same time attempting to sift from the old styles those characteristics of the culture which are of enduring worth.

As this culture changes so, too, will the informal education patterns. The *process* of informal education may change; the *product* of informal education will certainly change. The change in what is taught in the informal sphere will be so great that it will undoubtedly change the process of informal education as well as the formal process. To understand this requires an examination of the recent changes that have occurred in the community.

The most significant change, according to the interviewees, has occurred in the area of communication with the outside world. Every person mentioned the network of roads that has been built; the program has two thrusts, penetrating and paving. The building of the penetration roads has opened the interior and thus allowed the *campesino* easier access to Santa Cruz. The paving of the highway has resulted in increased bus service; there are several buses daily to the capital, a six-hour drive away. An airline schedules one flight a day to the capital, a 45-minute trip by air. Thus, tourism is increasing.

Mail service is good, and daily papers from the capital arrive each morning. Radio reception is excellent. (The ubiquitous transistor radio has made its impact in Santa Cruz.) Television has also arrived; one interviewee estimated (probably optimistically) that there was a set in one out of every two houses. A telephone system links local phone service to the national and international automatic network; in December 1978 it became possible for people in Santa Cruz to direct-dial to other countries and continents. In a few brief years, Santa Cruz changed from an isolated community to one accessible to and in contact with the rest of the world.

The community has undergone other changes as well, both in its physical facilities and in its economic infrastructure. Besides the roads, other utilities have been added. Of fundamental importance was the installation of 24-hour-a-day electrical service. Water and sewage facilities were installed in pipes under the streets, and the principal streets in the downtown sector have been paved.

Three banks serve the community; 15 years ago there was one. All three banks have government-backed crop loan programs, and credit is also available for small-business expansion, housing, auto purchases, and the like. The interviewees also mentioned the growth of a better distribution system for food and manufactured goods. Two large modern motels have been built, complete with restaurants and pools.

Another change noted by the interviewees was the institution of mechanical aids in farming which are taking the place of human labor; of course, skilled labor is required to maintain and run the machines. The secondary school teachers and principal recognize this need, but questioning failed to reveal any concrete plans or programs designed to meet it.

These physical and economic changes are creating deep and wrenching social changes. However, the community has formed social action committees in an attempt to control and shape these changes in a manner calculated to be of the most benefit to the people concerned. Among the amenities acquired through the efforts of these committees are a volunteer fire department with truck, a volunteer ambulance service (with vehicle donated by the West German government), a new church on the old site by the central plaza, a stadium for the soccer matches so dear to the Latin heart, a small hospital-dispensary, and a doctor (provided by the national social security agency).

Other social changes are evident and were noted by the interviewees. All of them mentioned the growing migration of the *campesinos* to the town. These farm workers are leaving the land for many reasons. Some have been displaced by machinery or have sold off their small holdings as being uneconomical. Others might have been attracted by the "city lights" and the hope of a higher standard of living. For whatever reason, many *campesinos* are moving to Santa Cruz, forming what one teacher called "a circle of misery" around the town.

How have these changes affected people's living patterns? One interviewee remarked on the fact that there was much less violence in the community than there had been 20 years ago. Fewer arguments were being resolved by knife fights; people began to develop a sense of accommodation to differences. The same person also observed that there was little or no use of unprescribed drugs or marijuana and a low incidence of ulcers and heart disease. However, he did report an increasing amount of drunkenness, alcoholism, and alcohol-related illness.

Several of the interviewees remarked upon the proliferation of prostitution in the community; none approved of this. They pointed out that the venereal disease rate had increased as well. However, the national program introduced in the mid-1960s to promote family planning, via intrauterine devices and contraceptive pills, had been very successful. These changes in the community will inevitably be reflected in the schools.

Schooling in Santa Cruz

At the time of this study, Santa Cruz had four schools: a girls' elementary school, a boys' elementary school, a coeducational academic secondary school, and a coeducational secondary agriculture school. Two new elementary school buildings had been built in recent years. The rooms were large but routinely furnished with a paucity of teaching materials.

To visitors, the elementary school children appeared alert and orderly during class. The teachers were for the most part young women trained at the regional normal school. Most were married to business and professional men of the town. They seemed to take a serious interest in their work.

The secondary school buildings, grouped on a campus at the edge of town, were relatively new. The complex consisted of eight parallel classroom wings extending from a main walkway. The rooms were sparsely furnished, and the library and laboratory facilities were grossly inadequate. (The lack of teaching supplies probably reflected the prevalent idea that teaching is "telling," rather than leading a student to discovery.) The total budget for the school year for all supplies and equipment was something less than $1,000 for a school of 900 students.

The students, who came from outlying districts as well as from Santa Cruz, wore uniforms consisting of white tops and navy bottoms. They were divided into sections by age, ranging from ten sections of 30 students in the first year to three sections of 30 in the fifth year. The curriculum of the academic school was generally classical and designed to prepare students for college. Textbooks, which students had to purchase, were thin paperbacks written and printed commercially in the capital.

The faculty was composed of both men and women, some old and some young. The younger teachers had been trained at the national university in the capital, the older teachers at regional normal schools. Since salaries were determined by both experience and inservice education, teachers had some incentive to return to the normal school or the university during vacation periods for further course work.

As one interviewee remarked, "When actuality changes, the schools must change, too." And there had been changes in the elementary and secondary schools of Santa Cruz, some of them instigated at the national level. About ten years earlier, the University of Costa Rica had opened a campus in Liberia, the capital of Guanacaste, 60 kilometers from Santa Cruz. With the institution of daily bus service, this campus became accessible to students from Santa Cruz. Several university extension courses were held on weekends in the school facilities at Santa Cruz.

Changes in the elementary schools. The function of the elementary school appeared not to have changed in recent years; it still seemed devoted to preparing deserving students for high school and making the rest literate. At the time of the interviews, a new building intended to replace the girls' school on the main city square was being built on the outskirts of town in order to serve that side of the community, thus introducing the concept of the neighborhood school. It was explained that when the new school was finished the elementary schools would become coeducational. The teachers were generally supportive of the coeducational plan, although some expressed a reservation about the idea of neighborhood schools.

Changes in the secondary schools. The secondary-school physical plant was only 15 years old, and few changes had been made in it. Increases in enrollment (from 666 in 1963 to 885 in 1970) were accommodated by crowding more students (average class size was 35) into the available classroom space. Although the school itself was spacious, the classrooms were crowded.

More changes were evident in the secondary schools than the elementary schools. There had been a heavy influx of students from the surrounding rural areas--perhaps as a result of rural parents' desire to educate *all* of their children, rather than only one or two as had been the case traditionally. The teachers interviewed expressed mixed feelings about these students. While realizing that school was necessary for the *campesinos* and welcoming the influx in the abstract sense of raising the general quality of life, they voiced apprehension that scholastic standards might be lowered by the presence of these students.

Another change in the secondary school system was the initiation of a night school program for adults. This was a broad program designed to promote adult literacy and help people prepare for the high school graduation examination; it offered no vocational education.

When asked what changes they would like to see, the teachers interviewed spoke of a need for more vocational courses; the principals spoke of trying to make the schools more "efficient." (This was generally taken to mean that the teachers should teach the classes to which they were assigned and attend to their first job--teaching. "Efficiency" might also have meant using some sort of performance standards to determine tenure.)

There were indications that change had not cut too deeply into secondary education in Santa Cruz. One teacher expressed the need for a more-diversified program by complaining that students could "pass the *bachillerato* examinations but not paint a house"--a remark particularly poignant in a community of houses with unpainted wood bared to the tropic sun. The lack of diversification, and the continuing emphasis on classical and traditional forms of education, did not seem to be attractive to students; the percentage of fifth-year students and graduates had remained the same for seven years. (Ten percent of the total enrollment was composed of fifth-year students; of these, about 38 percent passed the final comprehensive examination.)

Many of the teachers indicated that they would like to move beyond surface changes. One teacher remarked that she had to write her own texts and create some of her own teaching materials. Another teacher maintained that she would like to see the students do more investigating, but there simply wasn't enough material in libraries or textbooks for that process.

Another sign that not much had changed in education came from the *bachillerato* examination itself. This three-hour examination, covering five years of the social studies, contained 65 objective test items (each demanding a memorized fact) and three essay questions, each of which had to be answered within ten blank lines printed in the test booklet.

Conclusions

It could well be that the spirit which is changing society and education in Costa Rica is one of laboring together rather than operating together. This spirit will be reflected in both formal and informal changes in education patterns.

Radio, television, daily newspapers, and other informal educational media are bringing information from an outside world. New standards, new values, and new views are being transmitted through the intricate machinery of the informal education system that shapes so much of people's behavior.

The formal education system seems to be changing within its function rather than changing its function. The function of the schools has always been to provide literacy for the masses and a precollegiate education for the relatively few university-bound youth. That function is being fulfilled in Costa Rica, as more and more people achieve literacy and more students take advantage of better systems of transportation and communication to reach the national university. The schools are getting better at this function, but they are not taking on new functions.

Most teachers would welcome change; they work for it in the schools. The teachers interviewed were proud to point out that social action committees and other evidences of community spirit may have been fostered in the schools. Whether the formal education system will respond to changing needs in Costa Rica by taking on new roles remains to be seen. But perhaps there is no limit to the potential for education in a country that has more schoolteachers than soldiers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. These figures were obtained through personal correspondence with Dr. John F. Helwig, professor of education at the University of Costa Rica.

2. John E. Searles, "Verbal Styles of Teachers in a Latin American Society" (Institute for Arts and Humanistic Studies, Pennsylvania State University, 1970).

3. The author gratefully acknowledges the collaboration of Dr. John F. Helwig in conducting this study.

8. *Social Studies in Denmark*

An Era of Growth and Change

By Peter Stigsgaard

Peter Stigsgaard is associate professor of social studies education at N. Zahles Teachers' College, Copenhagen. Stigsgaard has been active in the development of curriculum for social studies teacher education in conjunction with the introduction of a new curriculum for secondary and elementary school in Denmark. During 1977-78 he was a visiting scholar at the Stanford University School of Education, where he conducted research on social studies education and teacher education in the United States. Stigsgaard is active in professional associations for social studies and social studies teacher education in Denmark.

* * * * * * *

This chapter on social studies education in Denmark will focus on the introduction and development of the field in the Danish comprehensive school (*folkeskole*, grades K-10) and high school (*gymnasium* and *HF*).[1] Teacher education will be briefly reviewed, with special emphasis on social studies. Finally, international perspectives in the field will be evaluated. This introductory section contains a brief frame of reference in the form of descriptions of the trends and traditions in Danish social development which are most relevant to the development of social studies in Denmark. The current structure of the Danish educational system, the main goals of policies of education, and current issues in the debate among the public and educational professionals will also be described.

Tradition and the Social Environment: Current Issues of Debate

During the last two centuries the Danish society has experienced important political, economic, and social developments. It is impossible to separate the educational system from such developments--for example, the economic change from agriculture to manufacturing as the basic industry or the evolutionary trend toward parliamentary democracy and political participation on the local and regional levels.

The political history of the country shows a close relationship between education and increasing political demands, responsibility, and skills. The rising demands for equal political and social rights voiced by peasants in the 18th and 19th centuries were, to a considerable extent, a direct result of the education they had received through the "folk high school" movement. This movement was an important factor in the victory of the Liberal party in 1901 and in the subsequent introduction of majority parliamentary rule.

The labor movement's battle for the rights of the rapidly growing number of workers at the beginning of the 20th century was another example of the connection between education and political demands and skills.

Through the establishment of evening high schools, the workers' Association of Education (AOF) enrolled a large number of workers in adult education. Other political groups followed this lead and established evening high schools of their own.

Along with these examples, it must be stressed that there has long been a tradition in Denmark of emphasizing the role of the comprehensive school in the general system of education. This fundamental part of the system, which served as a basis for the political movements mentioned above, is considered to have made a singularly important contribution to economic and social progress during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The main political force in the country since the 1930s has been the Social Democratic party, along with the workers' unions. This party, in its proposals and program, has stressed education as an important ingredient in creating a more-equal society as well as the facilities for economic and industrial growth. In the first decade after World War II, the growing emphasis on higher education reflected the rising demand for skilled industrial employees during a period of rapid economic growth and international competition.

The main goal of education has been the creation of a more-equal society, and the Social Democratic party has been the leading force in attempts to achieve this goal. Educational policies have sought to expand the supply of educational opportunities to youth--in both content and amount. Deliberate efforts have been made to prevent pupils in the lower social status groups from leaving school early, which has been the case for many years, and some progress has been made in this direction. The average percentage of students completing *gymnasium* and *HF* has increased rapidly; it is now approximately 35 percent. However, in comparson with corresponding figures in other industrialized countries this percentage may be relatively low. Recent research shows that attempts to create more equality among different social groups have not yet had significant effect.[2]

The present Danish minister of education (a Social Democrat) recognizes that the goals of the educational policies of the 1950s and 1960s have not been achieved. From her point of view, public education is still largely based on the values, concepts, and language of the bourgeois middle and upper social status groups. Thus, it seems, the belief that education is an effective means of creating progress toward social equality is supported neither by educational research nor by political decision makers.

In the 1970s, the flow of economic resources to higher education was slowed. The government has made efforts to estimate the future demand for various categories of professionals so as to match supply with demand. As a result, enrollments have decreased in various institutions of higher education and subject fields--among them, social studies and social science. Primary and secondary education have also suffered from cuts in funds for materials, class time, and number of courses in the curricula. These cuts were due in part to national fiscal constraints and to the general economic recession of the 1970s.

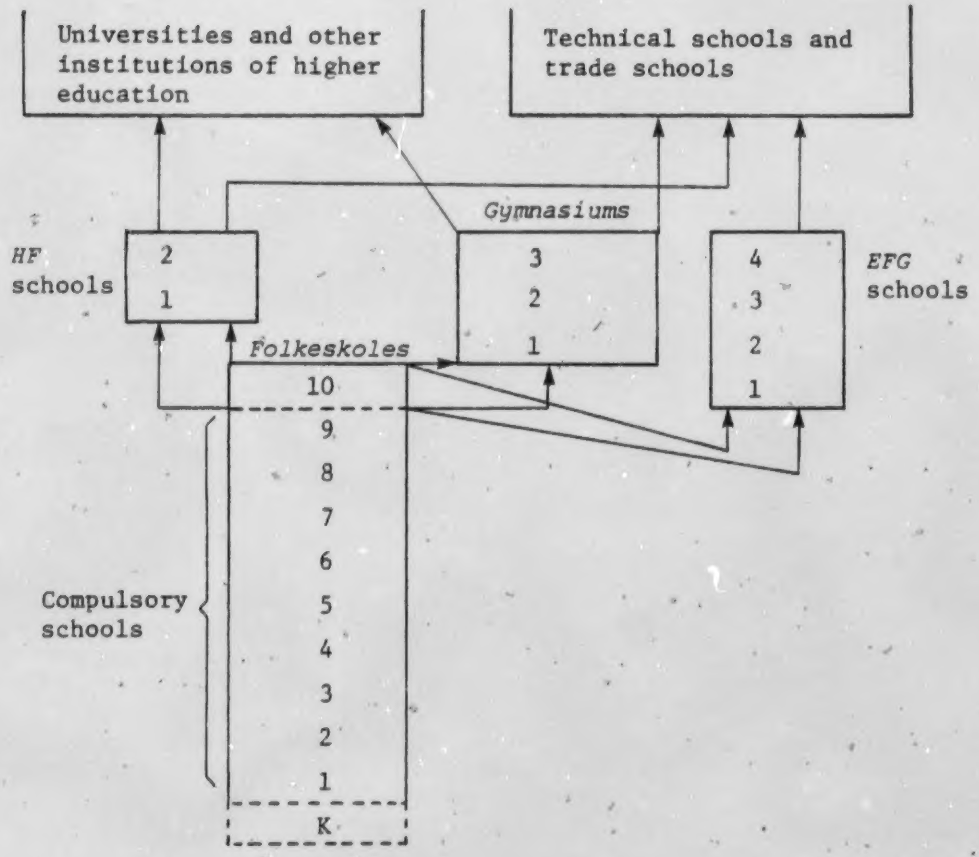
In summary, during the 1970s progress toward the educational goals of the 1960s slowed down. As for the future, it seems unlikely that the serious problems facing Denmark in an era of changing economic conditions will be reflected in systematic change in the educational system.

The Danish Educational System

The structure of the system is shown in Figure 8a. Some comments on the structure and the flow in the system follow.

Figure 8a

THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE IN DENMARK



Universities and other institutions of higher education
Technical schools and trade schools
HF schools
2
1
Gymnasiums
3
2
1
EFG schools
4
3
2
1
Folkeskoles
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
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K
Compulsory schools

Danish compulsory education was recently extended from seven to nine years in the *folkeskole*. This change was introduced in an effort to avoid some of the social bias in education. However, the *folkeskole* is a totally comprehensive school only until the eighth grade. In the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades, courses are offered on different levels in mathematics, English, physics/chemistry, and German language. As illustrated in Figure 8a, students can leave the school after the ninth or tenth grade or they can continue into the *gymnasium*, *HF*, or *EFG* schools. (*EFG* schools provide a modern apprenticeship education.) Upon leaving the *folkeskole*, pupils must pass an examination in most of the subjects and electives they have taken—with the exception of social studies. Good results from this final examination are required if the student wants to continue in the *gymnasium*. A recommendation from the student's *folkeskole* is also required for admission to the *gymnasium*.

In comparison with educational systems in other countries, the Danish *folkeskole* can be regarded as fairly decentralized, while the *gymnasium*, *HF*, and *EFG* schools are more centralized. Many of the latter schools are state or county schools, while the *folkeskole* is organized at the local community level.

The role of the Ministry of Education in regard to the *folkeskole* is to regulate the educational framework in accordance with the various *folkeskole* acts. These acts determine the general objectives of the *folkeskole* and which subjects are to be taught in what grades. The ministry determines the objectives of the various subjects and sets up guidelines for the number of lessons at various grade levels and requirements for tests and exams. Recruitment of new teachers, adjustment of the curriculum, determination of the number of lessons in the various subjects, and selection of textbooks and other materials are the responsibility of authorities at the local level--primarily, the school board and the parents' committee. The locally based authority has been strengthened in order to maintain the *folkeskole* as an integral part of the local community; however, Danish law provides that teaching in the *folkeskole* should not be based on local political or religious values. If members of a group have strong beliefs in ideas that are not taught in the *folkeskole*, they have the right to set up a private school. The state provides financial support to private schools as long as they are teaching in accordance with the *folkeskole* acts. Although private schools do not account for a large percentage of students, from time to time they have developed new ideas and strategies that later spread into the public schools.

In the *gymnasium*, *HF*, and *EFG* schools, nearly all the issues concerning curricula, examinations, and teacher recruitment are heavily governed or controlled by the Ministry of Education. (It can be mentioned as a curiosity that control of the *EFG* schools to a large extent has been in the hands of the employers' association and the unions, with the Ministry of Education as a third and minor partner.) Because of this structure of administration, curricula and teaching methods are more homogeneous in secondary education than in the *folkeskole*.

The Social Studies: An Overview

Before describing social studies in Denmark it is necessary to interpret the term *social studies* as it applies to the Danish educational system and its tradition.

The Danish educational system has only recently adopted some of the concepts and ideas commonly associated with social studies. In the *folkeskole*, geography and history were taught as single, unintegrated subjects until the late 1960s; they were not viewed as belonging to a common department or tradition. This situation was just beginning to change, very slowly, before the *Folkeskole* Act of 1975. Similarly, history, geography, and civics education in the *gymnasium* were never viewed as belonging to what is known as a "social studies department" in English-speaking countries. In the 1960s a social science branch called *samfundsfag*--literally, "social studies"--was introduced in the *gymnasium* and *HF*. Even in this branch, however, geography and history are taught as single and "isolated" disciplines.

As this brief description indicates, there is only a very recent (and weak) social studies tradition in Denmark. The development of the field can therefore hardly be described in terms of the broad, umbrella-like concept of the social studies that prevails in many (English-speaking) countries. The more relevant conception applicable to the Danish situation draws on the more recent waves of American and British social studies theory/didactics in which the term *social studies* is used in a narrower sense.[3] These developments are characterized by multidisciplinarity or interdisciplinarity among the modern social science disciplines--still, often excluding discipline-centered history and geography teaching. A problem-centered approach to current issues or controversies of public policy is frequently used. Finally, the goals and objectives of social studies education are considered to be closely associated with the goals of general education in stressing the prerequisites for effective citizenship in democratic society.

Since the didactics, objectives, and practice of history and geography teaching in Denmark must be considered as peripheral to a contemporary concept of the social studies, we will deal only briefly with history and geography in Danish education.

Traditionally, history education has received strong emphasis in both primary and secondary education. The Danish tradition of history education has been concerned with such objectives as knowledge of the national cultural and political heritage and international cooperation and coexistence. The official view of history education holds to a large extent that such education is meant to teach students to honor their nation and its past achievements and thereby learn to respect the present system and its premises. Before 1975 teachers were required to present citizenship courses in the *folkeskole* in grades 8 to 10. In the *gymnasium* and *HF*, teachers must devote a small proportion of history classes to civics instruction. This curriculum, which deals with the main social, economic, political, and cultural institutions in Denmark, is unpopular with students, and such an approach can hardly be considered an appropriate strategy for achieving the objectives of a serious citizenship education. However, it must be said that the history departments of universities and teachers' colleges have produced many outstanding educators who have contributed heavily to the development of the social studies.

Geography is taught in both the *folkeskole* and the *gymnasium*. However, the objectives of geography education have little in common with the objectives of the modern social studies; geography objectives simply state the value of knowing concepts, generalizations, and the structure of the discipline itself.[4] It must be stressed, nevertheless, that knowledge, concepts, and approaches from history and geography are to some extent included in the interdisciplinary social studies curriculum that is now emerging in the Danish *folkeskole* in grades 8-10.

Social Studies in the Comprehensive School (*Folkeskole*)

Orientation. To understand the development of social studies education in the *folkeskole*, we shall first examine *orientering* (orientation). This subject was introduced through vocational experiments by teachers and eventually supported by official guidelines in 1958. The orientation curriculum was developed within the nonacademic-preparing branch of grades 8-10 in the *folkeskole*. There is no doubt that the development of an interdisciplinary social studies curriculum was largely the result of teachers' attempts to make this particular branch relevant to students and to adapt the theoretically biased objectives and curricula of traditional history, geography, and biology education to students' intellectual capacities.

In 1964 orientation was given its first officially formulated objectives:

> The subject *orientering* has as its objectives--through the study of general and down-to-earth issues taken from pupils' own works, from topical problems of the world and society, from historical, geographical, and biological fields--to train the pupils to find and evaluate information [Danish: *orientere sig*] on their own and in cooperation with others.[5]

During the 1960s and 1970s the approach of orientation was gradually introduced in a branch of the *folkeskole* that prepared students for the *gymnasium*. This evolution was codified by the *Folkeskole* Act of 1975. Along with the creating of a comprehensive school from the first to the tenth grade, the act also established a fully developed (new) social studies curriculum in grades 8-10 called *samtidsorientering*, or "contemporary orientation." (As we shall see later, this was not an uncontroversial reform.) The discipline-centered curriculum remains in the sixth and seventh grades, while the program in grades 3-5 at the local level is based on an interdisciplinary curriculum. This somewhat inconsistent pattern reflects the strong influence of the U.S. tradition of science-centered curriculum design in the late 1960s.

Contemporary orientation. The differences between orientation and contemporary orientation are illustrated by the objectives identified for the new subject:

1. The goals of teaching are that the pupils acquire insight into some essential, contemporary, local, national, and global problems.

2. It is intended that the pupils acquire some skill in evaluating statements of political, economic, and ideological content.

3. The teaching must contribute to the pupils' developing an interest in political matters, in order that they endeavor to become aware of the historical conditions and the pattern of values which are the basis of their own and other people's opinions and actions.

4. Furthermore, the teaching must contribute to pupils' acquiring knowledge of some of the factors that are the background of the present conflicts in society, knowledge of how solutions are sought, and how the individual--alone or in cooperation with others--can influence decisions in society.[6]

No single discipline is emphasized in contemporary orientation. Its objectives, which are characterized by a relatively high taxonomic level and which include both cognitive and affective goals, deal explicitly with the skills and attitudes considered necessary for the continuation of a democratic society. Such a design for citizenship education neither promotes the continuation of existing values and conditions nor encourages the development of critical and radical views. Therefore, although these objectives have provoked some controversy and criticism, no single group can claim victory for its ideas about the development of contemporary orientation.

Let us now turn to an examination of the content and teaching strategies applicable to the objectives.

Since development in this field has only just begun, it is too soon to venture any observation based on empirical studies of the content. The curriculum guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education call for a structure or frame consisting of three issue areas: (1) resources, production, and work, (2) social and cultural conditions, and (3) political and ideological issues. Each of these areas is divided into four subcategories of content. For example, the subcategories for the first issue area are (a) production and conditions of production in Denmark, (b) conditions of places of work, (c) distribution of goods and determination of income and wages, and (d) welfare and survival.

In addition, the curriculum guidelines suggest approaches for dealing with these content areas. The three main areas are viewed, not as single issues, but as analytical tools for dividing complex problems into smaller bits. The guidelines emphasize that content must be chosen jointly by teacher and students, and that it must be based on or related to the society in which the students live. Problems or issues of public debate in the local community often serve as points of departure in selecting problems to be investigated; however, local issues are not emphasized at the expense of contemporary problems of national and international society. Accordingly, teaching strategies are closely related to a "problems" or "problem-oriented" approach.[7] This approach influences not only teaching but also content and objectives. Teaching strategies are designed to involve students, to make students responsible for the functioning of the class as a community, and to raise questions relevant to the students--in order to develop the kinds of attitudes and understandings required of politically concerned individuals in a changing and challenging society.

Such a curriculum obviously cannot be taught through the use of traditional textbooks; smaller pamphlets concentrating on narrower issues and containing the necessary historical background, central concepts, and ideas about different approaches are needed. However, there is some question whether appropriate teaching materials will be made available in sufficient quantities. To a large extent, teachers may need to find materials from untraditional sources or produce materials on their own. Students may also find it challenging to search for and produce materials.

117

Although this new curriculum appears to be exciting and innovative, it clearly presents difficulties for both teachers and students. First, the objectives are ambitious, given the fact that they must be achieved in only three lessons per week--just half the number offered in the old orientation curriculum in grades 8-10. Furthermore, political controversies are likely to erupt over the content and objectives of the program; the mere idea of introducing such a subject into the curriculum brought to the surface many controversies and conflicts concerning education about society.

Why, then, the change from orientation to contemporary orientation?

In spite of their differing views, various political factions and parties seem to have been united in their demand for the reform of education about society. The old program was not seen to be relevant to the creation of the skills these groups viewed as being necessary for living and taking part in society's affairs. The following statements reflect the variety of value positions held by proponents of a more realistic and contemporary social studies curriculum:

> The youngsters had learned a lot about the achievements of the past, about towns on a map, and about the mysteries of animal life, but because of living behind the walls of the school, they were not able to put this knowledge into perspective.[8]

> The students must adopt knowledge and skills that enable them to evaluate the current order of society from other points of view than normally accepted and to act and change society in accordance with their evaluations.[9]

> In the final edition of the curriculum it is the situation of conflict that is given emphasis. . . . Will the negativistic attitude toward society that [the curriculum] expresses be an invitation to indoctrination?[10]

Social Studies in *EFG* Schools

The *EFG* schools were introduced in an effort to modernize the traditional, paternalistic vocational education for blue- and white-collar workers. This education is intended to meet the employment demands of large corporations as well as to provide young people with contemporary theoretical and practical trade education. With the reform of vocational education, a social studies curriculum was introduced which has the same approach and content as the contemporary orientation program in the *folkeskole*. However, in the *EFG* schools contemporary orientation courses are often integrated with Danish language, management theory and practice, and other associated issues and subjects; together, these subjects account for nearly half the program in the first year of *EFG*. The introduction of discipline-integrated, problem-oriented, comprehensive social studies instruction at this level reflects the importance ascribed to this field and illustrates changing concepts about qualifications for blue- and white-collar workers.

Social Studies (*Samfundsfag*) in the *Gymnasium* and *HF* Schools

Social studies is mainly an elective branch in *gymnasium* and *HF* schools. After the first year of study, students choose a field of specialization from among the different branches--mathematics/general science, modern language, and classic language. Social studies is offered as part of both mathematics/general science and modern language.

Social studies programs in the *gymnasium* and *EFG* schools have gained in popularity since they were introduced in about 1968. At first the curriculum was heavily social science centered, resembling university programs in social science/social studies in which subjects--economics, sociology, political science, international politics--are taught as single disciplines. Yet even this curriculum represented a departure from the former rigid concentration on descriptions of social institutions.

Gradually, teaching in the *gymnasium* changed in the direction of discipline-integrated approaches. Some attempts to relate the teaching of social studies to the teaching of Danish language and literature, geography, and history are emerging. The teaching activities stress inquiry methods as ways to achieve conceptual knowledge and skills, evaluation, and judgment. Students often write reports about their investigations; these reports are evaluated by the teacher. One important aspect of the curriculum is that it asks students to confront conflicting theories about society and clarify the values and assumptions involved. The current set of objectives includes both analytical skills and reflective thinking, an approach that is consistent with the role of the *gymnasium* and *HF* schools in preparing students for higher education.

Teacher Education

Teacher education in Denmark is divided into two types in accordance with the kind of school the teacher is preparing for. Teacher education for the *folkeskole* takes place in 29 rather small teachers' colleges, located throughout the country. Four universities prepare teachers for the *gymnasium* schools and higher education.

Recruitment regulations for teachers in the *gymnasium* or *HF* provide for a six-month internship at a *gymnasium*, along with participation in seminars on theoretical didactic issues. Access to the teachers' colleges requires a *gymnasium* or *HF* examination; some colleges also require a period of work in the industrial, educational, or social sector.

The curriculum for *folkeskole* teachers contains general and vocational components. In the former, educational psychology, pedagogy, school history, didactic theory, and social studies are taught. In the vocational component, a student must choose two major subjects from among 19 subjects taught in the *folkeskole*. Finally, the student must choose one of three specialized courses in teaching: grades 1-7, grades 8-10, or pupils with physical or intellectual handicaps.

In contrast to the practice in many other countries, Danish teachers' colleges attempt to integrate subject matter with teaching methods, with the intent of achieving a more realistic relationship between the theoretical and the practical. Yet there still seems to be a time lag in adjusting teacher education to the demands of the schools.

Teacher Education in the Social Studies

Concurrently with the introduction of the social studies branch in the *gymnasium*, the universities in 1964 established a four-to-five-year master's program for preparing students to teach in the *gymnasium*. This program was also designed for training civil servants, governmental and administrative officials, and social scientists. The curriculum was to a large extent influenced by the subjects and approaches of social science in the United States at that time. Preservice preparation for teaching history, biology, and geography did not include teacher education for orientation, although this subject was introduced in the schools during the 1960s.

In 1972, experiments were initiated to develop an up-to-date program for preparing to teach orientation and contemporary orientation. After five years of experimentation, a new teacher training program was established. Because this new program emphasizes that future teachers must be familiar with the approaches which they are expected to implement, the focus of study is on current and important problems in local, national, or international society. The subject matter of social science is taught along with strategies for investigating the problems. Writing reports is an important part of the teaching/learning activities; these reports deal with subject matter as well as teaching methods. By integrating subject matter and methodology with different patterns of investigation and cooperation, it is hoped, the gap between theories of teacher education and actual practices in the schools will be narrowed, if not closed.[11]

The inservice education of teachers in Denmark is mainly conducted by the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. Although this institution had not prepared for the introduction of contemporary orientation, it has established a comprehensive program for inservice training. These first efforts have treated new methods, new approaches, and instruction in social studies subject matter related to contemporary orientation.

One of the main problems facing inservice training is the insufficiency of resources available to teachers. This problem is crucial when a new subject with new objectives and methods is introduced which is expected to be implemented rapidly on a nationwide scale by teachers of different ages and professional backgrounds.

Conclusions About Development Trends

An investigation of the emergence of social studies in various parts of the Danish educational system reveals a strengthening of citizenship objectives and objectives related to evaluative and decision-making skills and abilities. In accordance with the trend toward changing objectives, social studies curricula emphasize current issues and problems of society and the relationship between differing values and interests and conflicts in society.

The selection of content has become decentralized; it is now mostly determined by local teachers or by teams of teachers and students. This trend has to a large extent been brought about by teachers' search for curricular relevance and their assumption that paying more attention to student experiences will increase motivation and learning. Teaching methods are characterized by such descriptions as "problem-centered," "project-oriented," and "inquiry-based." Thus, the precursors of today's social studies teaching are, on the one hand, the interdisciplinary, holistic social science approaches and, on the other, the concept that skilled and concerned laymen should take part in society's affairs on the basis of knowledge and judgment. The professional foundations of the new approaches in social studies are research in pedagogy and educational psychology.

Judging from the rapid growth and development of the field--both qualitatively and quantitatively--during the last 15 years, the authorities consider social studies to be extremely important, and its importance must be viewed as increasing. No other subject area has experienced such rapid growth or has spread so widely to the different levels and branches of the educational system.

International Perspectives

The international perspectives of a social studies program can be assessed in two different ways. First, we can ask to what extent the curriculum deals with other countries, with international society, and with the concepts of international understanding and interdependence. Second, we can investigate the extent to which teaching is influenced by research and development in social studies education in other countries.

During the past three decades, social studies and its predecessors in Denmark have emphasized teaching about other countries and international issues to a relatively large extent. Because Denmark is a small country, it is part of the national culture to regard the country's present and future welfare as being linked to other countries and the international political climate. The considerable attention paid by the government and news media to such global problems as underdevelopment and real or potential shortages of food and raw materials is reflected in the objectives of social studies.[12] International understanding based on knowledge of the fundamentals of other countries has long been a goal of history and social studies education.

Although teaching about the philosophies of other political systems is viewed as controversial by some parents and members of school boards, it is a part of the curriculum in contemporary orientation, and the goals of social studies teaching require that students acquire knowledge of the political and religious values underlying other systems in the world. Finally, teaching about global and international issues is considered to be realistic in the sense that various national economic, ideological, or security interests are the bases of both conflict and cooperation.

Most of Denmark's neighbor countries were ahead of the Danish in introducing social studies education. The changes in Denmark during the past decades cannot be related to a specific tradition in another country; more likely, they reflect general trends that influenced the educational systems of most countries in the early 1960s and were adopted with different speed in different countries.[13] However, the German didactic tradition of political education (*Politische Bildung*) is emerging as a source of inspiration for the development of teaching strategies for the new contemporary orientation program.[14]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. The *HF* school offers a two-year secondary education. The *HF* final examination, like the *gymnasium* examination, is a criterion for gaining access to universities and higher education.

2. E.J. Hansen, *Den sociale rekruttering til gymnasiet og HF ved begyndelsen af 1970érne* [The social recruiting for the *gymnasium* and folk high school at the beginning of the 1970s], SFI Report #2 (Copenhagen: 1973).

3. This conception of the social studies in Denmark is parallel to the one used in the report from the Danish Ministry of Education to the Council of Europe's 1975 Conference on Interdisciplinary Teaching in the Human Sciences in Secondary School. See A. Frehr, *Report on the State of Interdisciplinary Courses in the Human Sciences at Secondary Level in Denmark* (Copenhagen: Ministry of Education, 1975).

4. In the *folkeskole*, geography is taught as a separate subject (two lessons a week) only in the sixth and seventh grades. In grades 8-10, it is offered as an elective three times a week, but only a few students take this elective at present. The picture in grades 3-5 is even more confusing: some schools offer geography as a single subject, once a week; other schoools teach history, geography, and biology as an integrated course (orientation) three times a week. The *gymnasium* schools offer very few geography courses, though the numbers vary in the different branches.

History in the *folkeskole* is treated much like geography. In the *gymnasium*, history is afforded a larger number of courses and generally holds a strong position.

5. See Frehr, "Report on the State of Interdisciplinary Courses," p. 3.

6. Danish Ministry of Education, "Bekendtgørelse om formålet med undervisningen i folkeskolens fag, §11, samtidsorientering" [Proclamation on the goal of instruction in *folkeskole* subjects: no. 11, contemporary orientation], dated September 24, 1975.

7. See R.E. Gross and R.H. Muessig, eds., *Problem-Centered Social Studies Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1971), and R.E. Gross, "The Problems Approach," in R.E. Gross and L.D. Zeleny, eds., *Educating Citizens for Democracy* (New York: 1958), pp. 341-367.

8. Erik Tøttrup, Danish Employers Association, quoted from *Historie og Samtidsorientering* [History and contemporary orientation], December 1976, p. 96.

9. Poul Christensen, Workers Unions, ibid., p. 89.

10. Erik Tøttrup, ibid., p. 97.

122

11. A more-comprehensive treatment of social studies teacher education can be found in S.F. Oleson and P. Stigsgaard, "Et forsøg på en indkredsning af liniefaget samfundsfags didaktik--med særlig henblik på nogle overvejelser omkring introduktionsforløb" [An experiment in the integration of subject matter with social studies didactics--with particular attention to some considerations related to the introduction phase], unpublished dissertation, Copenhagen, 1975.

12. See the objectives of contemporary orientation and typical issues quoted earlier.

13. K.H. Petersen, *Uddannelsesreform i international belysning* [Profession reform in international enlightenment] (Copenhagen: 1974).

14. Hermann Giesecke is especially influential. See Hermann Giesecke, *Didaktik der Politische Bildung* [Didactics of the political organization] (Munich: 1972).

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9. Social Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany

The Progressives vs. the Conservatives

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The Federal Republic of Germany, situated in the middle of Europe, has more than 60 million inhabitants; next to the Soviet Union, it is the European nation with the greatest population. Its geographical area--approximately 250,000 square kilometers--is divided into 10 states (*Länder*), which are laregly autonomous in regard to education and culture. The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic state according to the Western model, with an elected parliament, a Federal Council (made up of representatives from the states), and federal and state governments.

The Federal Republic of Germany's historical and social position as it emerged from World War II, which brought about Germany's political, economic, and social collapse, largely determined the goals and content of social studies education. After the war all social activities, including education, were focused on the economic and social reconstruction of the country and on the setting up of a democracy using the Western nations as a model. The social studies were expected to support the country's development toward democracy from the very start. During the various phases of social studies development in the Federal Republic, this process was characterized by different goals and emphases, reflecting changes in the interpretation of what a democratic society is. Given the interrelationships between state and social reconstruction and social studies education, the development of social studies education in the Federal Republic can only be sufficiently understood by analyzing these relationships. Only when the social studies are looked upon as an integral part of social reality can a country avoid overestimating its ability to bring about social reform.

The Educational Setting

The German educational system includes schools for general education, universities, and institutions for vocational training and continuing education. Furthermore, the country supports a comprehensive elementary education and an out-of-school youth education program. At the time of writing, the educational system consisted of the following institutions, in addition to universities:

--Kindergarten (*Kindergarten*), for children 3-5 years old.

--Nursery school (*Schulkindergarten*) for children of school age but not being mature for school.

--Primary school (*Grundschule*), grades 1-5.

--Special school (*Sonderschule*), for handicapped children.

--Junior school (*Hauptschule*), grades 5-9.

--Secondary school (*Realschule*), grades 5-10.

--Grammar school (*Gymnasium*); grades 5-10.

--Vocational school (*Berufsschule*), for young people having finished school up to the age of 18.

--Vocational retraining school (*Berufsaufbauschule*), technical and commercial schools (*Fachschule, Fachoberschule*) for special types of vocational training.

The structure of the German educational system is now in the process of being revised by the Federal State Commission for Educational Planning (*Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung*), a joint commission of the federal government and the governments of the states. The new structure will consist of six sections:

--Preschool (for children aged 3-5).

--Primary school (grades 1-4; for children aged 6-10).

--Secondary school (grades 5-10).

--Upper secondary school (grades 11-13; schools at this level should prepare students for the final academic examination (*Abitur*) or provide them with an equivalent vocational education while achieving a better integration of general education and vocational education.

--Tertiary education (university studies).

--Continuing education (the resumption of organized learning after entering a profession or occupation).

In all parts of the German educational system, social education is taught in one way or another. Social education does not take place only in social studies classes; rather, the teaching of all subjects invokes more or less conscious attention to political and social functions. Society expects the educational system to prepare children for their later professional and social lives and to be responsible for selecting children for different courses of education and careers according to their achievement. Another responsibility of the educational system--in particular, of social studies education--is to integrate children into society and thus to bring about the legitimation of society's structures of dominance.

Although social studies education contributes in part to social preparation and selection, it is primarily concerned with the processes of integration and legitimation. The educational system and especially social studies are expected to contribute toward the social integration of youth by institutionalizing standards, values, and patterns of interpretation which ensure desirable structures of dominance. Seen in this way, school is responsible for teaching students to recognize existing conditions and learn to behave accordingly. Two especially influential concepts in social studies education are those of extrafunctional qualifications and normative orientations; these concepts originated in the existing political system and have to do with the creation and preservation of mass loyalty. Within this context, two basic approaches to social studies education are possible; they can either be progressive or conservative.[1] In any event, it is true to say that education and the educational system can never be fundamentally different from the basic structure of the existing form of society. Making this connection between the educational system and society clear to the individual student is a primary goal of social studies education.

The Social Studies

The nature of social studies education in the Federal Republic of Germany depends to a great extent on individual states, schools, grades, syllabi, and, especially, teachers. In Germany each state draws up more or less strict curriculum guidelines, in which the goals and content of social studies education are outlined. Using various textbooks and educational materials, teachers implement these guidelines. In most of the states, the guidelines for various types of schools are inconsistent with one another in goals and content; only recently have efforts been made to develop consistent syllabi for students at each age level. In connection with this development, attempts have been made in some states to integrate the traditionally separate social studies disciplines into a "new" social studies (*Gesellschaftslehre*) at the elementary level. In secondary education (grades 5-10), social studies remain based, in large part, on the disciplines (geography, history, economics, politics). Instead of being essentially catalogs of materials, as their predecessors were, the new syllabi for the social studies include specified goals along with carefully selected new content, methods, and materials.

In many ways, the problems associated with curriculum reform in the social studies in the Federal Republic of Germany are similar to those experienced in the United States. More so than in the USA, the German states retain responsibility for controlling syllabi, with the intention of ensuring homogeneity in social studies education at least within the frame of each state. Since, in the various states, different political developments have taken place, it is difficult to ensure homogeneity across the country as a whole--the northern states tend to favor the Social Democratic party, whereas the south leans toward the Christian Democrats. In spite of this situation, however, a certain national homogeneity in social studies education does prevail as a result of the attempts of the large textbook publishers to develop materials which cover the syllabi of several states equally well.

In most of the states, curriculum reform in the social studies is focused on secondary education. Nonetheless, since social studies education takes place at all age levels, a brief summary of the most relevant developments at each level may be enlightening.

Primary Education (Grades 1-4)

At the primary level, much of social studies education is incidental, often within the context of a project or field trip. In some states the social studies and studies in natural sciences are integrated into one curriculum called *Sachkunde* (experiental learnings). Here the children are taught about their environment, in part from a historical perspective. In other states, the social studies curriculum deals largely with interpersonal relationships--for example, children's conflicts with siblings, parents, and teachers.

Secondary Education (Grades 5-10)

Most of the efforts to change social studies education at this level are focused on integrating different social science disciplines, although history and geography are usually taught separately. The goal of the new curricula is to prepare young people to contribute to the world and to their society. To achieve this goal, political conflicts as topics for social studies education also are stressed, along with such interdisciplinary projects as planning a town or an urban institution and systematically exploring a social problem. In spite of these efforts, however, most of the states continue to teach the different disciplines more or less independently. From three to four hours a week are devoted to the social studies at this level.

Upper Secondary Education (Grades 11-13)

At this level there is a certain amount of specialization because recent reforms allow for a considerable degree of individualization. In addition to required social studies courses, students can choose additional courses in the disciplines (history, geography, sociology, and economics). Within the framework of these additional and generally more-specialized courses, such themes as the following are treated:

--"Political Systems in the Great Industrial States."
--"Development and Crises of Western Democracy."
--"National Socialism."
--"Leninism-Stalinism."
--"East and West Germany."
--"The United Nations and Other Organizations."
--"Town Planning."

These systematic studies within limited areas of the social sciences are designed to improve students' comprehension of the international system and German and Western society.

The Importance of Political Education (Civics) in the Curriculum

Of major importance to the efforts to integrate the social science disciplines into a social studies program is political education. Within the framework of this subject area, goals have been developed and objectives defined which serve as a basis for the integration of the different social science disciplines, including history. If social studies education is to bring about a "fundamental democratization" of society and create more opportunities for citizen participation, it must define its aims more precisely and indicate criteria for the selection of subjects, content, media, and methods. There are presently five functional focuses for teaching social studies:[2]

1. Analysis of current conflicts. Analysis of conflicts is designed to help students understand and deal with conflict in order to achieve general progress in democratization, identify and promote their own interests, and develop imagination and judgment in regard to political reality in action.

129

2. Systematic teaching of broad social concepts. In order to put conflicts in a broad context and assess them properly, mastery of overall social concepts is required. Some of the points of emphasis suggested by Giesecke are the production and distribution systems of highly industrialized societies, political systems of government in the Federal Republic and in the German Democratic Republic, and international political and communication systems.

3. Historical awareness. Awareness of the historical dimension in social studies education is essential to an understanding of democratization and emancipation. Any tendency to neglect this dimension in favor of a functional, technological orientation should be viewed with a critical eye, because only an approach based on social science and history can guarantee a full understanding of political questions.

4. Practice in the acquisition and assessment of information. Acquiring and teaching the skills needed to obtain and assess information in regard to conflict situations is essential for action-based social studies education.

5. Teaching about forms of practical action. Social studies education must help students acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for effective social participation: dealing with legal texts, planning discussions, mastering techniques related to group dynamics, and articulately expressing political goals and demands.

Apart from these five points of emphasis, social studies education also seeks to provide students with certain basic insights into the following concepts: conflict, concreteness, power, right, interest, solidarity, participation, function, ideology, historical relevance, and human dignity. These "basic insights" further reflect the goals and content of social studies education; however, they must not be stripped of their historical and social contexts and presented as abstract political categories. Finally, it is vital that the interests and needs of students be considered in the formulation and selection of goals, content, and subject matter in order that the pupils, who are directly concerned, can increasingly learn to control their own process of social studies education.

Problems Related to Method and Communication

For a long time the problem of communication was neglected in the teaching of social studies. This was true until the late 1950s and early 1960s, when people were beginning to talk about a "didactic turning point" in social studies.[3] This phase not only introduced such new concepts as controversy, conflict, and critical thinking ability, it also witnessed attempts to deal with the issue of communication, partly in connection with the production of textbooks.

Even so, empirical studies published in the 1960s showed how unsatisfactory was the reality of social studies education in the Federal Republic.[4] These studies proved that frequently the "real" problems of democracy were not dealt with at all--that social studies teaching did little to counter the influence of the home and that it barely succeeded in rousing pupils to "structured political awareness." These studies also demonstrated convincingly that the shortcomings of social studies education were due in large part to teachers' insufficient specialized and didactic training, the lack of a well-defined concept of didactics for social studies teaching, the shortage of good teaching materials, and the absence of methodological skills. The increase in political activity among students and youth in the late 1960s and early 1970s can hardly be attributed to successful social studies teaching in the schools. On the contrary, many left-wing groups neglected the intellectual foundations of the dialectics of philosophy and action in favor of the political aspects, and, as a result, did not attach much importance to the problem of communication. Schmiederer was probably right in saying that, in the future, "the relationship between political learning and political action and the problems involved in conveying learning targets, contents and methods to the respective concrete groups" would be the two focal problems in teaching social studies.[5]

Giesecke's work on a methodology for teaching social studies (civics) and the analyses of focal problems in curriculum development in the social studies by Wulf and Schörken show similar approaches to the vital importance of communication, especially in view of the dichotomy between a relatively sophisticated critical theory of social studies and the relatively unsatisfactory reality that actually prevailed in school.[6] As was Fackiner, Giesecke was eager to demonstrate that social studies must always be seen as a teaching and learning process involving communication, the processes and methods of which require systematic observation.

An even-more-specific reference to communication problems is found in the framework of contributions to curriculum development based on politics and social science, since these disciplines require a more-concrete approach to dealing with the concepts of content, method, and media in curricular materials. In efforts to achieve more concreteness, attention must be paid to the need to extend students' opportunities for participation and, if possible, the desirability of permitting groups of students to control their own learning process. As far as possible, social studies should be able to overcome the split between theory and practice by dealing adequately with questions related to teaching methods, theory, and practice during teacher training and by attempting to radically improve teaching conditions.

Controversies and Conflicts Over Curriculum Reform

The intensive efforts to promote the development of a social studies curriculum (*Gesellschaftslehre*) in the Federal Republic which integrates theory with methods, together with the increasingly intense debate over curriculum content that has raged since the end of the 1960s, have led to revision of the specific syllabi for civics in a number of states in the Federal Republic. During this time it became apparent that many of the concepts and goals developed for the "new" social studies met with difficulty when put into practice in a real school situation, because political, educational, and institutional resistance to the reforms was stronger than had been expected. The controversies surrounding the North-Rhine-Westphalian and, in particular, the Hessian syllabi (the latter became a test case for the possibility of carrying out any kind of educational reform) provide striking examples of the difficulties encountered in the attempts to reform social studies education in the Federal Republic. In particular, discussions about the controversy in Hesse demonstrated that reforms in this field must always be looked upon as a matter of political planning requiring a systematic public information campaign. If this is not done adequately, reform plans can easily fail because of the resistence of certain special-interest groups. This was the case in many respects in Hesse, where the Christian Democratic opposition and various middle-class groups helped prevent the introduction of the reforms through their massive resistance.

It was the aim of the extensive Hessian reform plans to find ways of redefining the goals of social studies for a whole state, based on a concept of education as emancipation. It was assumed that such goals as "participation in productively forming social reality" did not clearly indicate whether "uncritical adjustment to existing circumstances" or "helping the pupil achieve self-determination and participation" was intended. For this reason, the Hessian syllabus began with a concept of democracy anchored in the German constitution and defined the supreme goal of a democratic society as the ability to achieve self-determination and participation, with the further specification that "optimal participation of the individual in social decision-making processes is tied to the elimination of unequal opportunities in life." Subsumed under this general goal were content and objectives in four areas: socialization, the economy, public tasks, and social conflict.

The criticism leveled by various groups at what surely has been the most far-reaching attempt in recent years to reform social studies education in the Federal Republic was mainly directed against the emphasis on conflict as a major category of social studies education, the reduction of the amount of history taught, the pronounced emphasis on social science, and the decision to group the various subjects into four fields. Part of this criticism was so virulent that it seemed impossible to bridge the gap between the more-progressive group supporting the reforms and the more-conservative side, which decidedly rejected them. In any event, attacks by a large sector of the public forced a revision of the syllabus and the elimination of some of its characteristic features.

The experience in Hesse made clear to those involved with social studies education in the Federal Republic how much goals for and decisions about social/political education depend on general political awareness.

International Perspectives

In recent years increased attention has been devoted to international perspectives in social studies education in the Federal Republic. This is true for several reasons. Major areas of international conflict are under renewed scrutiny now that new concepts, some of which originated in peace and conflict research, have shown that previous assumptions about the origins of such conflicts may be not valid.[7] More attention is being paid to UNESCO's efforts to promote international education. Efforts are increasingly made to view the international system not only from a strictly national viewpoint but from the perspectives of other nations as well as from an international level; the goal of these efforts is often to create international loyalties. The next few years probably will bring more and more pressure to take into account the worldwide aspects of social studies education, as part of general educational reform. Further clarification is necessary to establish whether this goal can be integrated in the overall goals of social studies education as it now stands or whether it will be necessary to formulate new goals.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. R. Schmiederer, *Zur Kritik der politischen Bildung* [Toward a critique of political instruction] (Frankfurt/M.: Europ. Verl. Anst., 1971), p. 10.

2. H. Giesecke, *Didaktik der politischen Bildung* [The art of political instruction] (Munich: Juventa Verl., 1972).

3. See W. Hilligen, "Zu einer Didaktik des Konflikts" [Toward a didactic of conflict], *Gesellschaft-Staat-Erziehung* 16, no. 2 (1971), p. 82; K.G. Fischer, *Einführung in die politische Bildung. Ein Studienbuch über den Diskussions und Problemstand der politischen Bildung in der Gegenwart* [Introduction to political instruction: a student workbook of discussion questions and activities dealing with political instruction in the past] (Stuttgart: Klett, 1970).

4. H. Habermas et al., *Student und Politik* [Students and politics] (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1961); E. Becker et al., *Erziehung zur Anpassung? Eine soziologische Untersuchung der politischen Bildung in den Schulen* [Education for adjustment? A sociological investigation of political instruction in the schools] (Schwalback: Wochenschau Verl., 1967); M. Teschner, *Politik und Gesellschaft im Unterricht* [Teaching politics and sociology] (Frankfurt/M.: Europ. Verl. Anst., 1968), p. 21.

5. R. Schmiederer, *Zwischen Affirmation und Reformismus* [Between affirmation and reform] (Frankfurt/M.: Europ. Verl. Anst., 1972), p. 184.

6. R. Schörken, ed., *Curriculum "Politik." Von der Curriculumtheorie zur Unterrichtspraxis* [Political science curricula: from curriculum theory to practice] (Opladen: Leske, 1974); H. Giesecke, *Methodik des politischen Unterrichts* [Methods of teaching political science] (Munich: Juventa Verl., 1973); C. Wulf, *Das politisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Curriculum* [The political science curriculum] (Munich: Piper, 1973).

7. C. Wulf, ed., *Kritische Friedenserziehung* [The need for peace education] (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1973), p. 661; C. Wulf, ed., *Handbook on Peace Education* (Frankfurt/M.: International Peace Research Association, 1974); K. Fackiner, ed., *Handbuch des politischen Unterrichts* [Handbook of political instruction] (Frankfurt/M.: Diesterweg, 1972).

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10. Social Studies in Guatemala

Underdevelopment in Schooling and Society

By Eduardo Navas

Eduardo Navas was born in Guatemala, where he has taught for several years in primary and secondary schools in both rural and urban areas. In 1972 he received his B.A. (Licenciatura) *from the School of Education of San Carlos University. In 1973 he joined the faculty of the School of Education and also worked in the Unit for Research and Planning of the Ministry of Education. In 1976 he came to Stanford University, where he earned a master's degree in communication and social change and a second M.A. from the School of Education. At present he is working toward his Ph.D. in curriculum and teacher education, with concentration in social studies.*

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Guatemala is a small, underdeveloped, agro-export-oriented Central American country. Within its 108,889-square-kilometer area live about 7 million people. Since 1960 the population has increased at an average rate of 3.1 percent annually; during 1960-1965 the annual rate of growth was 3.3 percent--one of the highest in the world.

Ethnically, the Guatemalan population can be divided in two major groups: Indians and non-Indians. Indians account for more than 50 percent of the population; most of them are concentrated in the highland region of the country. Indian towns are sources of cheap labor for the big plantations (cotton, coffee, sugar cane), which are located mainly along the Pacific Coast. It is estimated that more than 300,000 Indian people migrate seasonally to work on the big farms for an average wage of $1.25 a day. Usually the family migration involves children, who work in the fields to augment the family income.

Since the economy of the country and the lives of the majority of the population depend heavily on agricultural activities, land ownership has been one of the most acute social problems of Guatemala. The distribution of the land shows an uneven picture: 2.1 percent of the landowners possess 87 percent of the arable land, and 87 percent of the landowners own 19 percent of the arable land. This lopsided distribution of land ownership has created the *latifundio-minifundio* system, in which the latter is providing a cheap labor force to the former.

The effects of the underdevelopment can be seen not only in the uneven distribution of land but also in other aspects of peoples' lives. For example, 75 percent of all children under 5 are malnourished. The mortality rate is 17 deaths per thousand. Medical services are concentrated in urban areas, mainly in the national capital. Some 80 percent of the doctors live in the capital. The ratio of doctors to people is 1/3,600 in the capital and 1/23,000 in the rest of the nation. Rural areas are badly affected by the lack of medical services and health facilities.

Housing is another serious problem in Guatemala; according to the National Census Office, there is a shortage of 800,000 units. More than

56 percent of all urban households and 91 percent of those in rural areas do not have potable water. There is a similar contrast between urban and rural sectors in regard to sewage services.

Education is another serious problem for Guatemalans. Of the 3,629,893 persons older than 7, 55.5 percent have not been exposed to any kind of education. In the urban sector, 75 percent of the eligible primary school population is enrolled in school, whereas in the countryside only 31.9 percent of the eligible students attend school.

The Educational System

Guatemala has a highly centralized system of education, organized under the authority of the Ministry of Education. Every aspect of the school is controlled from the top, from the appointment of teachers and staff to the smallest elements of the curriculum. Evaluation, curriculum content, schedules--all are determined by officials of the Ministry of Education. The restrictions and requirements are the same for private and public schools as for rural and urban schools.

Education is governed nationwide by such official policies as the Educational Programs (curriculum content), the National Law of Education, the Manual of Evaluation, and the Manual of Supervision. Since no distinction is made between various school populations or geographical regions, all schools in the country must follow the same directions. Accordingly, there is no difference between what is learned by urban pupils and what is learned by their rural counterparts. By the same token, evaluation procedures are the same for youngsters attending high schools during the day as for adults attending night schools. Compulsory schooling is in force for the six-year primary school.

The Educational Program

Most of the major concerns of the school system evolve from the official Educational Programs. These mandates basically dictate the curriculum content and objectives for every subject. At the junior high school level, the Educational Program for a given course is a short syllabus containing the list of topics that must be covered during the school year. Teachers pay a great deal of attention to these lists of topics, and principals and supervisors closely monitor the development of programs, because at examination time students are tested with collective instruments developed at the school-district level. The objectives for each course are stated only in broad terms, and no attempt is made to link content with objectives. When authorities at the Ministry of Education decide that the curriculum should be changed, a committee of three or four inservice teachers is appointed to make recommendations. However, the design of a new program is an event that takes place only once in a great while; most of the current junior and high school programs were established in 1965.

The Social Studies Curriculum

Primary School

At the primary level, social studies is uniformly taught throughout the educational system. One hour a day is devoted to social studies during all six years of primary education. The following topics are typical of those covered:

--Life in different geographical regions of the world.

--Geography and history of Guatemala and Central America.

--Geography and history of the rest of the continent.

--Principal ancient civilizations.

--Geography and history of Europe.

--National and international institutions working for peace and human welfare.

--Democratic ideals of free nations.

--Values clarification.

Junior High School

The Guatemalan junior high school is a common three-year "basic cycle" or "cycle of general culture" for students who have finished primary school and intend to go on to one of the few specialized fields of higher education offered by the system. Social studies is a compulsory subject in all three grades. The teaching content is presented in a sequential order determined by the Educational Programs; the curriculum is the same for all students at each level regardless of their fields of concentration.

The social studies curriculum guidelines for the basic cycle are short documents containing general objectives and lists of required content. The first year is focused on Guatemalan history, the second on American history (South, Central, and North American history), and the third on universal (ancient and world) history. The teaching objectives for each grade level are quoted below.

First year. Students must:

--Understand that history is indispensable to measure the progress of the community, and . . . that history is the base for the formation of the national consciousness.

--Comprehend that history knowledge provides human solidarity and also enables students to understand the destiny of human beings and their possibilities.

Second year. Students must:

--Comprehend the importance and cultural benefits of the conquest and colonization of America.

--Comprehend that independence from Spain was possible as a result of the cultural development reached by the nations' people.

Third year. Students must:

--Learn and understand the most relevant events of universal (ancient and world) history which have determined the economic, social, and political conditions of nations around the world.

--Learn to appreciate the efforts, ability, and creative aptitudes of human beings which underlie the development and increment of culture through history.

The content of junior high school social studies is exclusively dominated by history. Following are examples of teaching units for each year as specified by the Educational Programs:

First year. Guatemalan independence.

1. Causes.

139

a. General causes: U.S. independence, French Revolution, the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.

b. Special causes: internal and external changes in the economic, social, and political structures of the world.

2. Previous local movements of independence: unrest of the artisans, political movements in Leon and Granada (Nicaragua), secret meetings in the convent of Belem, Indian unrest.
3. Cortes de Cadiz: Antonio Larrazábal
4. Local journalism: Pedro Molina and José Cecilio del Valle.
5. Declaration of independence; study of developments leading to independence.
6. Annexation to Mexico; complete independence.

Second Year. Independent period of America.

1. History and background.
   a. Philosophic, economic, political, and social trends of the 18th and 19th centuries which influenced the movement toward independence.
   b. Causes of independence: Napoleonic invasion of Spain, Cortes de Cadiz, Fernando VII.
   c. Roles of the university, municipality, church, and local journalism as major sources of independent ideas.
   d. First independent movements and their leaders: Miranda, Mariñ, Bolívar, San Martín, Sucre, Belgrade, O'Higgins, Washington, Hidalgo, Morelos, Iturbide.
   e. Indian rebillions in South America: Tupac Amaru and the *Comuneros* of Nueva Granada.
2. Foreign invasions in America.
   a. French invasion of Mexico: Maximiliano and the struggle of Benito Juarez.
   b. The Portuguese people and the Brazilian empire.
3. Independent Life.
   a. Emergence of the first nationalities.
   b. Monroe Doctrine, good-neighbor policy.
   c. Pan-Americanism, Panama Congress, Organization of American States.
   d. U.S. Civil War, Lincoln and the abolition of slavery.

Third year. Universal history.

1. Concepts of history: prehistory and history, major periods of ancient history, economic regimes of primitive communities.
2. Egypt: the Nile Valley, geographical framework, economic and social regime, bases of Egypt's civilization, the city state, architecture, religion, scripture.
3. Mesopotamia: geographical framework, the Sumerians, scripture, science, art.
4. Hebrews: commerce, navigation, alphabet.

Problems and Recommendations

Social studies education in Guatemala is constrained by three major problems. First, the curriculum fails to bridge the gap between the school and contemporary problems of the larger society. Second, the process of curriculum construction, as it is carried out by the Ministry of Education, bypasses teachers and other members of the educational community in shaping plans for instructional experiences. Furthermore, the curriculum neglects to take into account individual differences in learning style, background experience, motivation, and local educational needs. Third, the scarcity of teaching resources and school facilities seriously affects instructional practices and limits the scope of the potential educational experiences that can be planned by schools.

Given the assumptions that the school should maintain close contact with the problems of society and that social studies is one of the most appropriate subject areas in which to pursue this objective, the Guatemalan program could be enlarged and enriched by the inclusion of contemporary social, political, cultural, and economic problems. For example, several units might be devoted to studying the causes of underdevelopment and its consequences in such areas as health, employment, and distribution of wealth and political power. Other units might be devoted to environmental, consumer, family, and career education as well as to global and international education. If the curriculum were designed along these lines, students would have more opportunities to learn to understand their roles as members of an extended society and their relationships with other individuals and groups. Accordingly, social studies programs of this type can enhance students' awareness of possible avenues of participation in solving social problems.

The need to follow the rigid and inflexible curriculum guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education has the effect of restricting teachers' creativity and imagination as well as of precluding the incorporation of new topics appropriate to regional circumstances and current events. Another deficiency of the standardized curriculum is that, by presenting all students with the same fixed content that must be learned at a uniform pace, the schools ignores individual differences in readiness, learning styles, personal motivations, and interests--factors which count heavily in shaping pupils' learning.

The scarcity of teaching materials and school facilities is more severe in public schools because the state does not provide teaching resources--not even textbooks--and few parents can afford to buy school supplies. The effects of this scarcity can readily be seen in classroom instruction. Teaching methods rely heavily on lecture and discussion, and learning processes are typically characterized by rote memorization.

Obviously, the improvement of social studies education in Guatemala would require the intervention of educational authorities, scholars, and other people concerned with school affairs. However, it is important to keep in mind that the status of social studies is representative of the status of other teaching subjects, and that any changes and innovations must take place within the context of comprehensive educational reform.

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11. Social Studies in Indonesia

Putting a Philosophy Into Action

By Numan Somantri

Numan Somantri teaches at the Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pedidikan (IKIP) in Bandung, Indonesia. He studied in the United States and returned to play an important role in the development of the social studies curriculum in Indonesia.

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Indonesia is an archipelago, stretching along the equator from east to west over a distance of 3,250 miles and 1,250 miles from north to south. It consists of five main islands and approximately 13,000 smaller islands, of which about 6,000 are inhabited. Projected on a map of the United States, Indonesia would extend beyond the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

This enormous archipelago was populated by 129.1 million people in 1974, with a growth rate of 2.3 percent per annum. Almost two-thirds (63.8 percent) of the population is on the island of Java, which constitutes only 7 percent of the total area of Indonesia, giving Java an extremely high population density: 1,425 persons per square mile. Outside Java the density is much lower, averaging 23 persons per square mile. Communication is often very difficult because of the large number of islands and the limited development of mechanized transportation. More than 60 percent of the total land area is forest, and only some 12 percent of the total area is cultivated. Almost 90 percent of this cultivation is by subsistence farmers, with an average of 0.8 percent acres per capita.

Indonesia's neighbors are Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Khmer, Thailand, South and North Vietnam, the Philippines to the north, and Papua New Guinea and Australia to the east and south.

A large group of people from the Asian mainland migrated to Indonesia about 2000 B.C. However, as long ago as 3000 B.C. people lived in several places in the inland of Sumatra, and some of their descendants may still be found there. These original inhabitants, called *orang Kubu,* have been affected little by other cultures.

Although the Indonesian people are mainly of Austronesian stock, during the long history of the country other peoples have mixed with the original population to a certain degree. Apart from Chinese, Indonesian, and European minorities, there are many other ethnic groups and languages. The *lingua franca* is Bahasa Indonesia, used for all official communication and as the medium of instruction in schools.

The migrants brought with them several religions, among them Buddhism and Hinduism, during the early Middle Ages; little remains of these influences other than such grandiose temple complexes as Borobudur and Prambanan in central Java. Islam, which was introduced in the 11th century, has had a far more widespread influence in Indonesia. At present, approximately 90 percent of Indonesians are Moslems.

Indonesia has been a colony of the Portuguese, British, Dutch, and Japanese; the country has suffered more than 300 years of colonial rule. Although it is endowed by nature with rich resources and most of its soil is fertile, Indonesia has not yet experienced significant economic development. The rapid development of technology which took place in the West during the 19th century did not greatly influence the prosperity of the Indonesian people. Consequently, in terms of standard of living and way of life, Indonesia remains one of the most backward areas of the world.

In 1928 a youth congress was convened at which three postulates were formulated: "Indonesia had to be free and independent, a country forming one nation, with one flag and one language." When the Japanese were clearly losing the war in 1945 and on the point of surrender, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence from Japan on August 17, 1945. After five years of fierce struggle against Dutch forces, the country won independence.

The new nation began to operate under the 1945 Constitution and under a state philosophy, *Pancasila*, which can be summarized as follows: (a) belief in God, (b) humanitarianism, (c) nationalism, (d) democracy, and (e) social justice. These five principles became the foundation of education at every level of schooling from elementary through university. Therefore, a major goal of all educational institutions is to inculcate *Pancasila* by a program designed to help students develop qualities of good citizenship.

The problem for social studies is how to translate the values of *Pancasila* into curriculum and classroom practices. Psychologically, the integration of *Pancasila* into social studies curricula is not yet complete; traditional curriculum and classroom activities are still being practiced by most social studies teachers. Nevertheless, the national government is attempting to reorganize social studies textbooks and teacher education, which give direction to the learning and teaching processes required to achieve the objectives of education.

The Educational Setting

Education in Indonesia is the responsibility of the government. The main tasks of the national Ministry of Education are: (a) determining the philosophy of education, (b) determining policy and administering public schools, (c) developing curriculum, (d) inspecting preprimary, primary, junior high, and senior high schools, (e) providing buildings and facilities, (f) preparing teachers, and (g) overseeing private education.

The 26 provincial governments are concerned with primary education, but their contributions are limited to paying the salaries of teachers. Responsibility for education is mainly in the hands of the national government because the national government sees education as a national problem which should be dealt with broadly across the whole archipelago. A major goal in this effort is the development of a national philosophy of education.

A nation's philosophy of education provides perhaps the best indication of its unique conditions and aspirations. In Indonesia, the period after the war of independence brought an expansion of social studies in two new directions.

First, there was a trend away from colonial aims focused on national integrity toward a strong emphasis on social and political ends. The principles of *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution and the concepts of good citizenship, patriotism, and loyalty to Indonesian ideals came to have a central place in the goals of social studies.

A second important development in social studies was the expansion of the influence of new approaches in curriculum development on prominent educators and teachers' college lecturers. These influences were reflected in the national policy on education, especially in the policy of the Ministry of Education on development schools.

Although social studies curricula and textbooks are designed and determined by the government, the program is flexible enough so that individual communities can adapt the curriculum to local needs. However, it is sometimes difficult for teachers to translate the principles formulated in the national policy into classroom practices. To solve this problem, the Ministry of Education is trying to develop inservice training for social studies teachers, since social studies is perceived as an important subject. Social studies is required for all students in addition to mathematics, science, and language.

The Social Studies: An Overview

The general objectives of social studies are to develop democratic ideals and good citizenship, on the basis of *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution. The specific objectives can be summarized as follows:

--To develop a desire for better civic behavior.

--To develop the intellectual, moral, and spiritual ethics cherished in Indonesian culture.

--To develop a series of experiences which help students understand and appreciate the rights and duties of Indonesian citizens.

--To develop sufficient background for becoming an informed citizen who can participate in solving social problems.

--To develop an understanding of the importance of the general welfare of all people as well as one's self.

--To develop the skills needed for effective thinking.

--To promote an awareness of basic human activities.

Frequently, however, there has been little relationship between the objectives stated in the curriculum plan and textbooks and activities used in the classroom. The Ministry of Education and Culture realized this problem, and in 1969 the Office of Educational Development was established by decree of the president of the Republic of Indonesia. This new agency was assigned responsibility for (a) preparing plans, programs, and policies for the Ministry of Education, (b) carrying out experiments and pilot projects in connection with educational development, and (c) conducting educational research. One of the first efforts of this new agency was to mobilize experts from universities, teachers' colleges, and UNESCO to develop textbooks and other activities related to the improvement of social studies programs.

The Social Studies Curriculum

In spite of the tremendous changes which have taken place in Indonesian society since independence, the social studies curriculum has changed little in the last three decades. The Ministry of Education requires the following course sequence:

--Grades 1-6. Civics, geography, and history, combined under the name of civic education.

--Grades 7-9. Civic education, geography, and history.

--Grades 10-12. Geography, economics, history, and civic education.

This sequence represents an expanding-environment philosophy of curriculum organization, in which the curriculum broadens as the pupils gain in experience and maturity. Civic education emphasizes the development of certain values required for good citizenship, while the other social studies subjects place emphasis on further study in college as well as on social problems in general. These courses are offered by both public schools and private schools, since civic education and social studies are required by the national government.

Trends in Methods of Teaching

Although new developments in curriculum theory and the psychology of learning have had a great impact on prominent Indonesian educators and teachers' college lecturers, they have not yet been widely applied to classroom teaching. Ground-covering technique, narrative approach, drill on facts, daily reading from the text with litttle or no comment--all these remain standard methods for most social studies teachers. Even though they are encouraged by educational administrators to use problem-solving and inquiry approaches, teachers are reluctant to implement those practices. Social studies education, for the most part, is still characterized by traditional textbooks, lack of audiovisual materials, and uninspired teaching methods.

Nonetheless, the total picture is not without promise. Eight "development schools" and more than 20 predevelopment schools have been established to study curriculum development and ways of improving teaching and learning. Meanwhile, there is tremendous interest in skill development on the part of teachers and administrators who realize that problem-solving, discovery, and inquiry approaches all add much to the existing repertoire of teaching methods. Their needs are primarily for more-detailed guides to program planning and teaching procedures in addition to better social studies textbooks.

Another problem faced by social studies curriculum developers is how to organize content so that it is appropriate for various levels of schooling and different areas of the country. The most serious criticism of the social studies is that content consists of facts which must be memorized. Social studies subjects tend to follow strict disciplinary lines, without much regard for the sweeping and significant social and economic changes that have taken place since 1945. Consequently, the content tends to be repetitious and boring for students. Curriculum reform efforts by the eight developmental schools have been focused on a citizenship approach, an interdisciplinary approach, and a problem, or functional, approach. All three approaches have been formulated at different grade levels in an effort to serve students who are going on to college as well as those who are preparing for everyday life.

A Case Study: The Development of Instructional Modules

Despite the fact that social studies textbooks and methods of teaching are poorly organized and inadequate in many respects, the social studies reforms now being attempted by the Office of Educational Development offer some promise. The committee for social studies reform is trying to reorganize the content by drawing from one or more designated subjects and by breaking down barriers between subjects. Content is organized around a comprehensive topic and based on instructional objectives. Through this approach, students may master concepts and generalizations previously limited to the social scientist, better understand an ever-changing environment, and learn to live more successfully both now and in the future.

One intensive social studies project initiated by the Office of Educational Development is based on instructional modules. Each social studies topic is developed in the form of an instructional module. The learning activities in the module are intended to facilitate the achievement of specific objectives. Described most simply, each module consists of the following elements:

--Specific objectives or sets of objectives, stated in behavioral terms. terms.

--Content of the lesson.

--A series of instructional activities designed to help students meet the objectives.

--A test designed to assess the students' levels of mastery.

Students investigate each topic by means of a series of problem-solving activities. Working like scientists, they accumulate data from a variety of sources to use in finding appropriate answers to the questions. Besides these activities, students take part in discussions and sociodrama. Some of the suggested activities encourage students to work on problems by themselves. Some activities may be accomplished in school, others at home or in the community. The goal of these methods is to give each student opportunities to use the methods and techniques of social scientists in gathering and analyzing data and reaching tentative conclusions.

The role of the teacher is not that of a disseminator of knowledge but rather that of a director of learning--a manager and organizer of the learning process. Freed of routine and repetitive duties, the teacher is able to devote more time to the important elements of teaching: motivation and personal contact. Thus, the teacher can give more individual help to both slow learners and bright students. Early field test reports from development schools indicated that teachers play a more important role in modular instruction than in any other kind of teaching.

International Perspective

One of the basic principles of the Indonesian national philosophy is humanitarianism: respect for all humankind throughout the world.

Theoretically, since national philosophy is the foundation of the social studies curriculum, all Indonesian students should have some knowledge and understanding of international issues. The questions remain: What does one need to know about international understanding in order to participate intelligently and honestly in the world community? How can the social studies curriculum instill a world perspective in students?

The development of a sound international understanding requires a meaningful national frame of reference whereby students can learn about other peoples and lands in the context of Indonesian cultural empathy. Cultural empathy involves both seeing others as they are and seeing ourselves in another person's situation. Therefore, international understanding cannot be a separate segment of a social studies program.

The scope and sequence of the international component of the Indonesian social studies curriculum is reflected in the following typical course outline for senior high school students:

1. Prehistory
2. The rise of civilization
3. The Renaissance
4. The industrial revolution
5. Imperialism
6. World Wars I and II
7. Southeast Asia, Asia, Australia
8. Middle East, Europe, Canada, USA, Latin America
9. United Nations Declaration of Human Rights
10. United Nations Organization, international organizaitons

On the basis of this typical course outline, the teacher has responsibility for cultivating in students a sense of national identity and an understanding of the variety of cultures around the world. There is no conflict between developing a strong sense of national identification and developing international understanding.

One of the instructional objectives formulated is that students are expected to understand and appreciate the interrelationship between their nation and others and the inevitability of international cooperation. Although the amount of content for developing international understanding is perceived as adequate, two problems have been reported by teachers: (1) the content for developing international understanding may be labeled "nonfunctional knowledge" and (2) the content is poorly organized and perhaps a little meaningless, insofar as it does not clearly show relationships between the information presented and Indonesian culture.

Theoretically, content related to international understanding is not a separate segment of the social studies program, yet curriculum planners and authors of social studies textbooks fail to integrate this concept into social studies objectives. The Office of Educational Development is in the process of revising the social studies curriculum, so that international understanding, current affairs, and ecological problems are included in the program.

The spirit of *Pancasila* is to present the student's own culture as one among many cultures in the world, each with its own validity and virtue. The goal of education in Indonesia is to enrich students' appreciation of their national culture and of other cultures as well.

12. Social Studies in Israel

Shaping a Political and Social Image

By Ada Moshkovitz

Ada Moshkovitz was awarded an M.A. in education by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Since 1970 she has been on the staff of the Curriculum Center at the Ministry of Education and Culture in Jerusalem, where she directs the Social Studies Project for Secondary Schools. Moshkovitz is the author of the following publications (in Hebrew): Economics of Israel (1972), The Oil Crisis (1974), The Arab-Israeli Conflict (1975), Gaps, Poverty and Welfare Policy in Israel (1976), and Family and Society (1979).

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When the state of Israel was established in 1948, the country had 800,000 inhabitants, 650,000 of them Jews. Israel's first years of existence were years of intensive immigration; within three years it had absorbed 670,000 immigrants. During this period, all the immigrants were Jewish refugees without means. Some were from Europe--those who remained after the destruction of 6 million Jews during World War II. These people had lived in refugee camps since the end of the war in 1945. Other early immigrants were from Arab countries.

Since that time, immigrants have continued to arrive from many different countries. In 1978 Israel's population was more than 3 million--five times greater than in 1948.

Immigrants to Israel come from countries with different technological levels; they speak different languages; they have different social, cultural, and vocational backgrounds and different levels of education. Of the total number of immigrants who came between 1948 and 1976, 48.1 percent were from Asian or African countries and 51.9 percent from Europe and America. Thus, Israel's major social problem is creating a society with a strong common bond.

Israel is surrounded by Arab states. Since its founding, Israel has experienced four wars, interspersed with periods of ongoing tension. Israeli youngsters must serve in the armed forces--the boys for three years, from the ages of 18 to 21, and the girls for two years. After demobilization, men serve in the reserves until the age of 55.

As a democratic society concerned with shaping its political and social image, Israel faces two important questions:

--Should Israel consider itself a Jewish state or a nation without an official religion?

--Should Israelis strive to create a society with a homogeneous national culture or, instead, to foster pluralism among its various ethnic, cultural, religious, and social groups?

For the most part, these questions have not been decided. Yet they obviously have massive and far-reaching implications for the national educational program.

The Educational System

Israeli society in all its facets regards the educational system as one of the most important tools in shaping a desirable social image.

The 1953 State Education Law is one of Israel's basic laws. (Israel has no comprehensive education law, just as it has no constitution.) This law incorporates within a single educational system three different trends which functioned in the Jewish *yishuv* in Palestine under the British Mandate. It distinguishes, however, between two elements--the general state trend and the state-religious trend.[1] The difference between these two educational streams is in their humanities curricula, particularly in regard to religious studies and Judaica. All other subjects are the same.

Following are translated excerpts from the State Education Law (1953):

> Paragraph 1: "State education" refers to education provided by the state in accordance with the school curriculum, unaffiliated with any political party, ethnic group or other organization with the exception of the government and supervised by the Minister or whoever is authorized by him for this purpose. "State-religious" education refers to state education at educational institutions which are religious in their outlook, curriculum, teachers and inspectors.
>
> Paragraph 4: The Minister will determine the curriculum to be followed at every official educational institution; in non-Jewish institutions the curriculum will be adapted to the special circumstances.
>
> Paragraph 5: The Minister has the right to set out a supplementary curriculum for any official educational institution--either a single program for the whole school or various programs for different grade levels or parallel classes of the same level; supplementary curricula for state-religious schools will be selected from those prepared for state-religious education.
>
> Paragraph 6: By parental request, the Minister has the right, in keeping with the regulations, to approve a supplementary curriculum other than that decided upon, according to Paragraph 5.

The 1949 Compulsory Education Law is also one of Israel's fundamental laws:

> Paragraph 2a: Compulsory education will encompass every child from the age of 5 through the age of 13, and any youngster who has not yet completed his elementary education.[2]

In Israel, the educational system is centralized. The Ministry of Education determines both the structure of the system and the curricula (including the program for matriculation examinations) for the 5-18 age group. In the last decade, reforms have been instituted in the structure and curricula which point to an attempt to decrease this centralization, giving more responsibility to the six district authorities and allowing schools and teachers greater freedom.

150

The Structure of the Educational System

Until the 1960s, the formal educational system was divided into two sectors: elementary school for 6- to 13-year-olds and high school for 14- to 18-year-olds. Since then a four-division structure has been initiated: mandatory kindergarten (ages 5-6), elementary school (ages 6-12), junior high school (ages 12-15), and high school (ages 15-18).[3]

There were several reasons for changing the structure of the school system, in particular for adding a junior high school level. Most important was the desire to integrate youngsters from various socioeconomic levels who had until then attended neighborhood schools of a homogeneous nature (according to the social profile of the neighborhood). This reform is currently being evaluated.

Curriculum Reform

As has been pointed out, the creation of a common bond linking all social groups is perceived to be a top national priority. Educational planners sought to accomplish this by building a unified educational and cultural infrastructure for the whole of the student population. Israel's first school curriculum (1954-1956) was characterized by uniformity. It did not differentiate between various types of pupils--fast and slow learners, children of veteran residents and immigrants from different ethnic groups and social strata. Such uniformity proved, in reality, to be unsuitable from two standpoints:

1. From the standpoint of social objectives. There was progress among pupils from socially disadvantaged environments, and such students became more numerous in high schools and universities, but the gap between these students and other students remained.
2. From the standpoint of quality and standards. The school curriculum was harshly criticized by academics, who regarded it as outdated and unsuccessful in catching up with the rate of change in the world of science.

During the last two decades, attempts have been made in the United States and other countries to develop new school curricula, and these attempts have influenced curriculum developments in Israel. Beginning in 1968, new curriculum programs were developed in Israel which differ from previous programs in subject matter, teaching methods, preparation procedures, and materials.

The first school curriculum in Israel (effective from 1954 to 1956) was focused on subject matter: it set out topics to be dealt with in various subjects at various levels. The introduction pointed out overall aims and made general didactic suggestions; the program was uniform and mandatory for all pupils in all schools. Although 25 percent of the curriculum was left open--to be chosen by parents, pupils, or school initiative--this opportunity was usually not taken advantage of.

In regard to the new curriculum, the original intention was to break down the disciplinary framework and increase interdisciplinary subjects. For various reasons this ideal did not materialize; the disciplinary framework remains central, albeit with greater coordination between subjects. Subject matter is chosen with more attention to the intellectual and emotional needs of children of different ages, taking into consideration the needs of Israeli society and the changes taking place in the sciences today.

Accompanying the curriculum is a detailed rationale containing objectives that are clearly defined, usually in behavioral terms. Instead of a uniform program there are alternative curricula as well as opportunities to choose between different subjects and various topics within each subject. In most cases the options are numerous, especially for high school students, and they are related to the subjects of the matriculation examinations. The range of options offered depends, however, on the budget of the individual school. The school system also has at its disposal alternative study materials at various levels which are suitable for underprivileged and gifted pupils.

Instead of simply providing information, presenting preordained conclusions, and offering unequivocal explanations, the new curriculum materials advocate the approach that there may be different explanations for the same data as well as various answers to the same problem. Emphasis is placed on developing intellectual abilities and imparting skills which will enable students to continue learning on their own after finishing school. The teacher is expected to exhibit personal initiative and the ability to improvise, so that classroom materials are used as incentives rather than as textbooks to be memorized.

Curriculum Development

The first school curriculum (1954-1956) was prepared by the Ministry of Education, for the most part by inspectors. It was a one-time undertaking. Textbooks were written according to the syllabus, usually by experts and inspectors, and then approved by a special ministry department. Most of these materials were designed expressly for students.

The new school curricula were prepared by professional committees made up of scientists, teachers, and inspectors. These committees work at university-based centers and at the Ministry of Education and the Culture's School Curriculum Center. Coordination between and approval of the various curricula are the responsibility of the School Curriculum Division of the Ministry of Education. These programs are constantly being changed--corrections and revisions made and new materials developed. On the basis of the suggested syllabus, the staff prepares student textbooks, teacher guides, study aids, and examinations.

The curricula are designed in such a way that they can incorporate ongoing changes to meet new needs. Textual material is presented in a clear, simple manner, accompanied by visual and teaching aids. The prepared matter goes through various stages of formulation and experimentation and is subjected to evaluation before being used extensively in the classroom.

Since the initiation of the school curriculum reform, new syllabi have been drawn up for most subjects at all levels and new material has been added to meet major needs. However, the reform has created new problems, the most serious of these involving implementation of the reform and of new methods of teaching.

The Social Studies Curriculum

In the original curriculum grades 1-4 in the elementary school studied "The Homeland," a general, integrated course which combined community issues and history with local geography and nature studies. In the new curriculum, the principle of offering integrated subjects at the lower grades (2, 3, and 4) of elementary school has been maintained, with the addition of topics based on concepts in civics, sociology and anthropology. In the upper-elementary and junior high school grades, the social studies curriculum is still linked to the study of history and geography but now includes civics, which was not studied before.

History is taught in a single chronological sequence in grades 6-9. In grades 10-12, 26 courses in history are offered, three of them mandatory and the rest elective. Students must choose three history courses every year. Teachers are asked to see that a variety of topics are selected and that balance is maintained between Jewish history and general history. Some typical courses in general history are "The Islamic Civilization at Its Height," "The Catholic Church in the 13th Century," "The Renaissance," "Freedom and Equality," "Arab National Awakening," and "Pan-Arabism." Among the courses in Jewish history are "The Jews in the Hellenistic World," "The Jewish Community in the Middle Ages," and "The Role of the Labor Movement in the Realization of Zionism." Student work is based on analyzing texts, explaining pictures, visiting archeological and historical sites, and participating in educational games.

The new geography curriculum includes such courses as "City Geography," "Industrial and Agricultural Geography," "Developing and Developed Countries," "Synoptic Meteorology," "Historical Geography of Israel," "Man and the Desert," and "Man and Water." From a methodological point of view, emphasis is on the development of concepts and skills. Varied instructional methods are employed which take into account the different abilities of pupils, especially slower learners.

Civics studies were added to the curriculum at the upper-elementary level or at the first level of junior high school. In senior high school the subject of civics was expanded and offered for another year (a total of two years). Seventh-grade civics studies are focused on the Israeli political establishment and its main institutions and procedures; high school civics deals with social, economic, and political issues. Instead of being presented as a summary of information, these issues are shown to be debatable, thus exposing pupils to different points of view. Also studied at the high school level are principles and concepts from the social sciences, so that the pupil will be able to use them in discussing social issues.

Teaching Civics in Junior High School: A Case Study

This case study illustrates the following characteristics of the new curriculum: (1) the new approach to the subject, (2) the use of new teaching methods, and (3) the formulation of suitable alternatives for different ability levels.

Civics in the new curriculum was designed to be taught to seventh-graders in 30 lessons. Two versions of the program were developed:

Version A, for regular classes, which is based largely on interpretation of written texts, and Version B, for heterogeneous, slow, and disadvantaged classes.[4]

Version A (developed in 1970)

The following principles guided the development of Version A of the new civics curriculum:

--The curriculum should stress analysis of local events and phenomena, analysis of citizen behavior, and examination of state institutional activity.

--Only those aspects deemed most important and translatable into the language of the learner should be selected for each content area.

--The teacher's guide should suggest central ideas for each content area, as well as related concepts. The emphasis should be on basic generalizations and methods of investigation which will aid the learner in understanding and evaluating various phenomena.

The content was organized into three main areas:

1. Introductory discussions (individual and society, nation and state).
2. The political process in Israel (citizens' organizations, elections, ways of making decisions on public matters, the makeup of the government and ministries, inspection and control, the judicial system, local authorities, religious institutions, the president as an embodiment of the values of the state).
3. The nature of democracy (principles of democratic and nondemocratic governments, actual participation in democratic procedures).

Various methods of teaching were recommended for elaboration of the material. The following are the most important:

Event analysis. A lesson is based upon the description of an event from which the pupil is asked to derive certain types of information. In certain cases, pupils may be asked to provide endings for incompletely described situations on the basis of their personal experiences. The lesson "The Citizen's Duties," for example, depicts neighbors chatting over a cup of coffee. The conversation turns to the subject of jointly owned apartment complexes, introducing the issue to be discussed in class. In the lesson called "Citizens' Rights," a demonstration is described. Analyzing what takes place leads into a discussion about the work of the national legislature.

Investigative methods. Students are required to gather information from various sources and reach conclusions. In some lessons they are given texts from which they can derive data about political parties, election propaganda, and the makeup of the government. Other lessons require the use of encyclopedias and other reference books or interviews with people.

Programming. Pupils study subjects independently with the use of programmed materials.

154

Role Playing. The lesson on citizens' duties, for example, calls for pupils to act out a tenants' meeting during which they present various opinions and points of view.

Despite the wide variety of teaching methods it employs, Version A is based largely on reading texts of different kinds; thus, the primary condition for learning is an understanding of what is being read. This version proved unsuccessful for slow and disadvantaged classes. Analysis of these difficulties led to the development of Version B.

Version B (developed in 1976)

The developers of Version B of the new seventh-grade civics curriculum identified the following teaching objectives:

--To foster ability, skills, and good habits in all pupils; i.e., the ability to think, proper work habits, values of good citizenship and proper behavior.

--To impart the beginnings of a political education; i.e., a basic knowledge and understanding of the main political institutions and processes in Israel, the formation of such desirable behavior patterns as responsibility, knowledge of rights, and willingness to fulfil duties.[5]

In order to achieve these objectives, teaching methods were based on student activity and experience rather than on textual analysis. Approximately one-third of the material was prepared in the form of simulation games. Learning by means of simulation games has the following advantages for slow learners and heterogeneous classes:

--The emphasis is on understanding major concepts via experience; very little is based on the written word.

--The concepts studied are actually applied, and the subject matter can be altered to conform to pupils' personal experiences.

--Improved learning is made possible by repeating the game several times.

--By means of a scoring system, pupils can receive immediate feedback, a factor that is particularly important for disadvantaged students.

--Repeating the game enables different viewpoints to be aired and additional examples introduced, thus avoiding the need to adhere to one specific example.

Extensive use is also made of audiovisual aids: tapes, pictures, work cards. Brief, simply worded written explanations are included to enable students to acquaint themselves with the materials, summarize the content, and reread the salient points.

It is hoped that this case study illustrates how a nation can use its social studies program to promote the knowledge, skills, and attitudes which its citizens must have in order to ensure the preservation and extension of democratic principles.[6]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. Despite the country's small population, all necessary institutions were developed to ensure Israel's continuing existence. These

included an educational system that incorporated three aspects: general, religious, and labor. (The labor movement was closely affiliated with political organizations and parties and had clearly defined educational objectives.)

2. The Compulsory Education Law was later extended to include children up to the age of 15, and in 1979 it was further extended to include 16-year-olds. Free education is offered to young people up to the age of 18.

3. Today, 45 percent of all 12- to 15-year-olds attend junior high schools; the remainder attend schools structured according to the old framework.

4. See *Lessons in Civics, Teacher's Guide* (Jerusalem: Curriculum Center, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1971). In Hebrew.

5. See *The Citizen in His Country, Teacher's Guide* (Jerusalem: Curriculum Center, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976). In Hebrew.

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13. Social Studies in Japan

Tradition and Change

By Teruo Omori

Teruo Omori, formerly a professor at Tokyo Gakugei University, now teaches at Tokyo Women's Gymnastic College. In addition to teaching at the college level, he has conducted research into the teaching of social studies in Japan and other countries. Omori is a member of the committee for revising social studies curriculum guidelines appointed by the Japanese Education Department. He is the author of Dictionary of Fundamental Concepts and Technical Terms in Social Studies.

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The Japanese islands, located in the sea along the eastern fringe of Asia, curve like a bow from south to north. Because of its geographical situation, in early years Japan developed under the cultural influences of other Asian countries, especially China.

In the middle of the 19th century, European colonization spread widely to Asian countries and greatly changed them politically, economically, and socially. Japan enthusiastically adopted the modern civilization of European countries, especially England, Germany, and France, and accomplished her own "modernization" in a very short time. The political, economic, and social innovations that accompanied this modernization had a nationalistic and militaristic character. Japan's involvement in World War II is seen by some scholars to be an inevitable outcome of the country's rapid development. The Japanese defeat put an end to the ultranationalistic and militaristic policies which reached a peak during the war.

During the postwar occupation period, the building of the "new Japan" proceeded, with Western-style democracy as its guiding principle. The influence of the United States pervaded not only such institutions as politics, economics, and education but also the way of life of the people in postwar and present-day Japan.

However, the situation is changing of late. Relations have been restored between Japan and China. Consciousness that Japan is an Asian nation is growing gradually among the Japanese.

Japan's remarkably rapid economic development since the war has created a national awareness of the Japanese role in the world economy, and economic help for the underdeveloped countries has come to be an important issue in Japanese foreign policy. However, the country's extraordinary economic development has caused difficult problems. One unexpected outcome of the rapid development in industry under unfavorable geographical conditions (high density of population in a small territory) is the so-called environmental destruction; pollution of land, sea, and air is apparent throughout the country. Charges have been made that the health of people living in industrialized areas has been damaged, and some of these citizens have taken vigorous action in defense of the fundamental right to life. Public opinion is showing a tendency to flow against capitalistic enterprises which merely pursue profits. At the same time, ideological debates between conservative and progressive parties have become increasingly heated. Such economic and political situations are by no means irrelevant to the social studies, and it seems inevitable that the social studies will continue to experience considerable change.

The Educational Setting

Compulsory education has been in effect in Japan since 1872. Originally it covered four years of primary school; the compulsory period was extended to six years at the beginning of the 20th century and to eight years during World War II. Immediately after the war, the U.S.-style 6-3-3 system was adopted (six years in elementary school, three years in junior high school, three years in senior high school), and the compulsory period was further extended to cover the first nine years. The "free" education guaranteed by the postwar constitution included not only tuition but also textbooks.

Compulsory education is effectively implemented in Japan; pupil attendance is almost 100 percent. The number of pupils going on to high school, college, or university is increasing year by year. According to recent statistics, nearly 90 percent of the pupils graduating from junior high school go on to senior high school. The issue of making the senior high school compulsory is now beyond debate, and its realization is near.

Educational Innovation After 1945

To understand the present status of Japanese social studies, it is necessary to touch on the educational innovation which was carried out as one part of the democratization policies of the Allied occupation forces. The new policies completely eliminated the ultranationalistic and militaristic approach that had characterized Japanese education during the war and in prewar times. In its place, an empirical democratic education (called the "new education") was introduced from the United States. The Imperial Edict on Education, which had provided the authority for Japanese education since 1880, was abolished and replaced by the democratic Fundamental Law on Education, established in 1947. Subsequently, the Law on School Education and other educational regulations based on the Fundamental Law on Education were enacted. In the field of school subjects, the most important aspect of these innovations was the installment of social studies in the curriculum at all levels, from the primary grades through high school. Social studies was expected to provide an effective set of tools for rebuilding Japan and for sweeping away vestiges of the ultranationalistic and militaristic wartime education, which had stressed such subjects as geography, history, and *Shushin* (moral education and civics). The social studies became not only the most important school subject but the very core of the school curriculum. The Education Department (*Monbu-sho*) published curriculum guides and other reference books to guide teachers in presenting the new subject.

The postwar educational changes that gave birth to the social studies were not without flaw. Two problems in particular eventually became apparent:

1. The stimulus for innovation had come from the Education Department; that is, the changes were designed to serve the needs of administrators, not teachers.

2. The innovators went to extremes in denying, not only wartime Japan, but also the culture, values, and history of prewar Japan.

Accordingly, several years later, demands were heard for the correction of imbalances created by these innovations. The Education Department again played the leading role in reexamining the "new education." Social studies, the core subject of the "new education," was the main focus of attention.

Revision of the Social Studies Curriculum

The revision of the "new education," especially the improvement of the social studies, was carried out in response to conservative discontent. Thus, attempts to improve the social studies developed into a controversial issue with both political and social aspects. The main objectives of the curriculum revision undertaken in 1955 can be summarized as follows:

--To amend the one-sided emphasis on multicultural and international education and place an appropriate value on Japan and the country's national traditions.

--To move away from a problem-solving approach and return to a discipline-centered program which attaches importance to the systematic teaching of geography, history, and civics.

The curriculum guidelines issued by the Education Department, which previously had been only a general guidebook for teachers, was reissued as an administrative publication which set specific standards for teaching the social studies. In 1958, the powers of the guidelines were extended to cover teaching practices and the contents of textbooks. These revisions generated much criticism in addition to stimulating debate over the nature and function of the social studies.

In prewar Japan, *Shushin*, or moral education, was the most highly esteemed of all school subjects on the ground that it provided the basis for all education. As the war went on, however, *Shushin* became more and more nationalistic and militaristic, and it was abolished when the war ended. In its place, an indirect democratic moral education program evolved within the framework of the newly born social studies; this new version was later criticized as being ineffective. In 1958, after hot debate, new courses characterized by independent and direct moral education were inserted into the curricula for both primary and secondary schools. The appearance of these new courses has revived questions about the relationship between moral education and social studies, which in essence are closely related to one another.

The Social Studies: An Overview

General Goals and Objectives

The goals and objectives found in the curriculum guidelines for primary school are described in this section, since they reflect fundamental views about the social studies which pervade the educational system at all levels.

The primary school "course of study" (curriculum guidelines) begins with the following general goal: "The social studies aims to cultivate the basic citizenship necessary for a member of society, through promoting better understanding about social life." Immediately thereafter, the following more-specific objectives for student learning are stated:

--To understand the distinctive features of the functional roles played by the family, society, and nation by studying actual examples; to understand and appreciate the society and nation; to understand that the basis of democratic social life is respect for self and others.

--To understand the importance not only of the close relationship between human beings and the natural environment but also of man's active influence on nature; to develop an appreciation of the community and nation.

--To understand that our way of life, our Japanese culture and tradition, have been historically formed; to develop a better understanding and appreciation of Japanese history and tradition; to be willing to contribute actively to the development of the society and nation.

--To develop the ability to make use of fundamental data as a means of understanding social life; to develop the ability to observe social phenomena and think reflectively about their social meaning; to develop the ability to make basic social judgments.

The goals and objectives identified for each grade level ("grade aims") are used as criteria for selecting content. Figure 13a shows this interrelationship.

Goals and objectives for the primary school emphasize skills necessary for productive citizenship--both action skills and thinking skills. The cultivation of such skills is the general goal, and the specific objectives for each grade level are derived from this goal.

Who decides the goals and aims of the social studies?

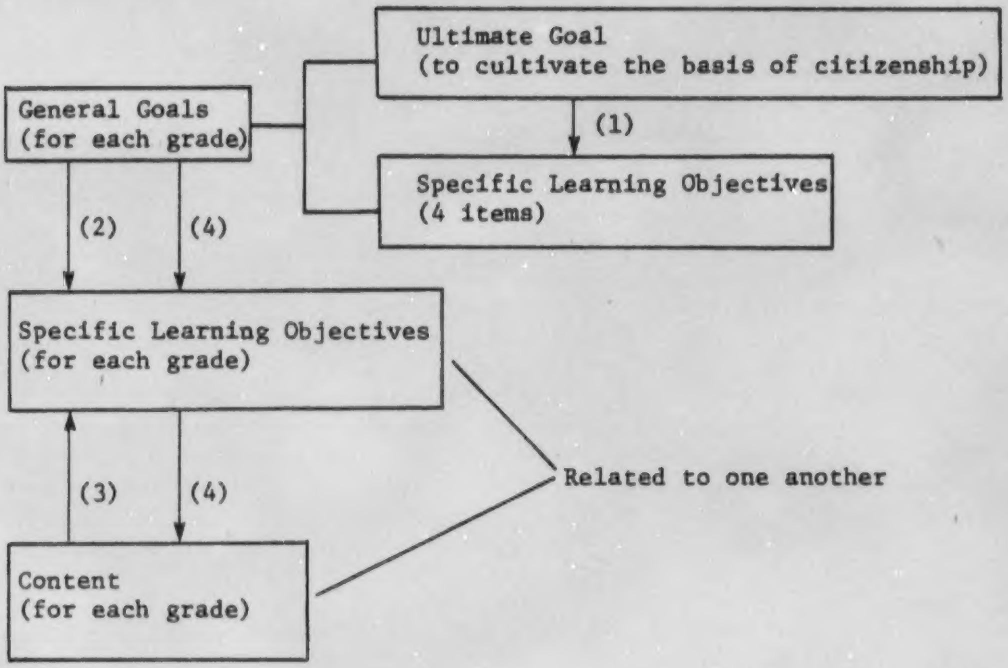
In Japan, the Education Department is authorized to decide all matters pertaining to a school subject, including its goals and objectives. Under this authority, the "course of study" for each subject is determined by the national government with the help of a committee consisting of academic scholars, educational administrators (including principals), and teachers; this committee is appointed by the Education Department.

Recently, however, some people have advocated that educational decisions should be made by the people, not by a government bureaucracy. At present, a heated debate is developing over procedures for determining the general goals of school subjects, especially social studies.

Figure 13a

ORGANIZATION OF OBJECTIVES IN THE CURRICULUM GUIDELINES

(Primary School, Grades 1 - 6)


Ultimate Goal
(to cultivate the basis of citizenship)
(1)
Specific Learning Objectives
(4 items)
General Goals
(for each grade)
(2)
(4)
Specific Learning Objectives
(for each grade)
(3)
(4)
Related to one another
Content
(for each grade)

Courses and Content

The second revision of the social studies curriculum, in 1955, emphasized systematic learning about geography, history, and civics. From that time on, a discipline-oriented approach has been predominant except at the primary school level. Social studies in the junior high school consists of courses in geography, history, and civics; courses offered at the senior high level include Japanese history, world history, geography, ethics, politics, economics, and "Modern Society" (an integrated course). Although in theory all social studies courses are part of an interrelated whole, this theory is not always put into practice in the classroom.

In the primary school, social studies is taught during all six years; geography, history, and civics are mandatory in junior high schools. In senior high school, two social studies courses--"Politics and Economics" and "Modern Society"--are required, along with two electives.

Teaching Methods

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the importance of methods in teaching, and the statement "Aims, content, and methods must be interrelated" has become a byword for many teachers. Methods may soon be considered as important as goals and content in the teaching/learning process.

Generally speaking, however, the traditional lecture method is still predominant in ordinary classroom teaching, especially in the higher grades, even though various kinds of new methods have been proposed and tried. The continuing predominance of the lecture method may be attributed to the following factors:

--The demands of the teacher's job, which compel teachers to rely on lectures and textbooks.

--The persistence of the traditional view of education, which assumes that the essence of the educational process is the transmission of knowledge to the learner.

--The lack of preparation of preservice teachers in using alternative teaching methods.

One example of a new teaching strategy that is now attracting the attention of scholars and teachers engaged in social studies research is called "Learning by Cards." This method is perceived to be an efficient means for cultivating skills in classification, analysis, and synthesis. In working with this activity, students proceed according to the following steps:

1. Write on each card one bit of information--gained from observation, questioning, or research--about the topic at hand.
2. Sort the cards into groups according to their common features, irrelevant cards being put aside for the present.
3. Write a caption or heading for each group of cards.
4. Organize all the groups of cards into a synthesis based on the relationships among them.

One advantage of this strategy is that it puts the teacher primarily in the role of an adviser--for example, when students need help in settling a dispute about sorting the cards into categories--rather than an imparter of predetermined knowledge.

This card-sort activity is one part of the "K.J. Method" developed by a Japanese geographer, Jiro Kawakita. In Kawakita's work observations in the field are stressed as indispensable to the method.

Trends Related to Instruction

Teaching aids and materials. The utilization of such teaching aids as graphs, charts, models, statistics, and documentary materials has rapidly progressed. Slides, 16mm films, radios, television sets, and overhead projectors are found in a considerable number of schools, often with special rooms available for their use. There is growing interest in computer teaching machines. The educational technology industry shows signs of prosperity in the Japanese industrial world, and some teachers' colleges have already established facilities called "educational engineering centers." However, a good many teachers seem to (mistakenly) believe that sophisticated apparatus alone will promote teaching efficiency.

Respect for the learner's individuality. The child-centered education that prevailed immediately after the war attached importance to individual learning activities. This approach was difficult to put into practice, however, owing to the prevalnce of large classes--many of which contained more than 40 pupils. This situation has not improved greatly even now, although the average number of pupils per class has been decreasing gradually. Nevertheless, individualized instruction is again being earnestly advocated. This trend may be the result, directly or indirectly, of two factors: (1) the view that the right to learn is a "fundamental right" of children and (2) the current emphasis on cultivating attitudes and skills necessary for productive citizenship.

International Perspective

Foreign Influences on Japanese Social Studies

Because social studies in postwar Japan was modeled after U.S. social studies, the latter always has exerted a considerable influence on the former despite changing conditions and trends. For example, the expanding-horizons approach, one of the earliest U.S. influences on the Japanese social studies, is still applied to the organization of the primary social studies curriculum. *Social Education*, the journal of the U.S. Council for the Social Studies, has a fairly good circulation in Japan, especially among researchers. The rise in the United States of the "new social studies" introduced to the Japanese such ideas as "drawing out the basic concepts of the social sciences," "organization of the conceptual curriculum," "the structure of science and the structure of social studies," "structured instruction," and "learning how to learn."

The USSR and West Germany have also had some influence on social studies in Japan. Translation of Soviet pedagogy into Japanese, which began in the 1950s and has been increasing, has introduced Japanese educators to materialistic philosophical theories of social cognition and the teaching/learning process, collectivist educational theory and practice, and historical materialism as a basis for history teaching. The "example formula," highly regarded by Japanese scholars and teachers as an efficient method of overcoming problems related to the "knowledge explosion," probably has been the most significant contribution from West Germany.

UNESCO and Japanese Social Studies

World peace and international understanding and cooperation are the broad goals of social studies education in Japan. They are also the goals of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Thus, it is natural that Japanese students be taught about UNESCO, using the preamble of the United Nations Charter as source material.

Several UNESCO seminars held in the early 1950s exerted a considerable influence on Japanese social studies. The emphasis of the seminars was on international understanding. "Geography Teaching for International Understanding" or "History Teaching for International Understanding" were popular themes.

Furthermore, during these years the concept of "lifelong education" was introduced through UNESCO to Japan. This new educational idea was taken into consideration in defining the general goals of the social studies when the present curriculum guidelines were drafted.

Examples in the Curriculum

The emphasis on international understanding in social studies goals is reflected in the curriculum in a variety of ways. Junior high school pupils learn about Japanese geography in a global context through the unit "Japan in the World." Students at this level also learn about their country's history against the background of world history. In studying economics and politics, senior high school students compare practices and policies in Japan with those in socialist countries.

However, even in courses specifically designed to incorporate global content and perspectives, the international aims of social studies education are not always translated into actual classroom practice. Some teachers are interested mainly in transmitting facts to passive learners or in extolling the benefits of a particular political ideology. The more-widespread adoption of a values education approach, in which students are encouraged to examine and explore their own values and those of others in a nonjudgmental context, would contribute greatly to students' international understanding.

Outlook for the Future

In recent years, educational researchers in Japan have shown an increasing interest in looking at social studies education within a worldwide context and in using comparative methods to study social education on a cross-national basis. The results of this growing body of research should bring new strengths and insights to the teaching and learning of social studies in Japan.

14. *Social Studies in Kenya*

From Foreign to Indigenous Control

By Stafford Kay

Stafford Kay received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1973. From 1973 to 1975 he taught in the Department of Educational Foundations at Kenyatta University College in Nairobi, Kenya. Since 1975 he has been on the staff of Monash University in Clayton, Victoria, Australia, where he is a senior lecturer in comparative education. Kay's professional interests include curriculum development and the history of education in Africa, and he has published articles on these topics in Comparative Education, Comparative Education Review, Paedagogica Historica*, and the* International Journal of African Historical Studies.

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Since achieving independence in 1963 the East African nation of Kenya has made many alterations to its education system, including changes in what is taught in the social studies. The two most significant changes have been an impressive expansion in the availability of schooling and a far-reaching localization of curriculum content.

In the decade 1960-1970, school enrollment figures nearly doubled, from 800,000 to more than 1.5 million. As school numbers were growing dramatically, Kenyan authorities were working to develop curricula in which colonial-inspired content was replaced by material from the African cultural milieu. The struggle to provide enough school places to meet popular demand, however, placed severe restrictions on how innovative a new social studies curriculum could be.

Comparatively speaking, recent changes in social studies education in Kenya have been quite significant with respect to previous practices, but not highly innovative in terms of what has been happening internationally. Such qualified change illustrates the intractable nature of educational systems in many third-world countries. Unless there exists a determined national commitment to intervene in peoples' lives to promote fundamental social and political changes, school systems and the education they foster are likely to continue to follow established patterns. In Kenya, where the government has deliberately avoided dramatic or revolutionary development policies, changes in the schools have also been gradual and evolutionary.

The Country and Its People

Kenya is often referred to as a land of contrasts, one that has made remarkable, peaceful progress as an independent state after a stormy colonial era. Situated on the equator along the Indian Ocean, Kenya, with an area of 225,000 square miles, is roughly four times the size of Great Britain. Four geographic zones--a narrow tropical coastal belt, an arid coastal hinterland, well-watered highlands in the center, and a fertile lake basin in the west--provide the nation with a greatly varied countryside, only one-fourth of which is suitable for agriculture. The climate, largely influenced by altitude, changes from equatorial at the coast to temperate in the highlands.

The 14 million indigenous people in Kenya comprise more than 40 different ethnic groups who speak a variety of languages and follow varied cultural ways. Most are small-scale farmers who produce their own food as well as such cash crops as tea, coffee, pyrethrum, pineapples, and sugar cane. One of the immediate tasks of nationhood has been to instill in these diverse groups a common identity as Kenyans. Although no single ethnic group is large enough to be dominant either politically or socially, four groups--the Kikuyu, Luo, Luyia, and Kamba--account for nearly half the total population. Kenya is also a multiracial society, with 3 percent of its population originally from Asia and Europe. Although very much a numerical minority, these groups have long been influential in the nation's economy. One of the major objectives set for the schools at the time of independence was to train Africans as rapidly as possible to take over from expatriates in trade, commerce, and industry. This preoccupation with manpower planning has also influenced the degree to which the education system could change.

Although Kenya has become very much an African country, the remaining Asian and European minorities are visual reminders that for 70 years Kenya was under the colonial influence of the British Empire. Imperial policies early in the 20th century encouraged both European settlement to develop the area's resources and Asian immigration to satisfy the colony's labor needs. During the colonial era these expatriates occupied some of the territory's best agricultural land, dominated trade, and repeatedly sought to gain political advantages. Their political and economic actions ultimately spawned African nationalist feelings.

In the 1920s, when Africans began to demand greater equity and political control, they met with strong opposition from the entrenched white settlers. Ultimately, in the early 1950s, African resistance to the injustices of colonialism erupted in armed rebellion in central Kenya among the Kikuyu and others. The revolt, popularly known as "Mau Mau," had largely been quelled by 1960, but during the long struggle British authorities had become resigned to establishing African majority rule in Kenya.

In 1963 the reins of government were placed in the hands of the influential Kikuyu politician Jomo Kenyatta, whom the colonial officials had imprisoned earlier as the alleged leader of the Mau Mau rebellion. Kenyatta immediately reassured the European and Asian communities that they were welcome to remain in Kenya to lend their skills and resources to the task of "nation building." This term became a catchall for the many serious issues faced by the newly independent nation. These issues included the needs to stimulate economic growth, develop natural resources, ensure political stability, create a national identity, educate the entire population, and improve social services. In all these tasks, the schools were expected to play a major role.

The Colonial Legacy

The educational system that independent Kenya inherited in 1963 had only recently begun to provide schooling for a substantial percentage of the school-age population. Like other colonial territories, Kenya was saddled with a badly distorted educational pyramid that often provided training of dubious worth. The 840,000 pupils enrolled in primary schools represented only 35 percent of the age cohort, while the 10,600 secondary students comprised a bare 1.3 percent of their age cohort. As a consequence, the new African government gave priority to school expansion, particularly at the secondary level. In just seven years primary enrollments increased by more than 60 percent, while secondary enrollments rose fourfold to almost 130,000. This dramatic growth was made possible by the allocation of more than one-fourth of the annual national budget to education and by the efforts of local communities to build their own school facilities on a self-help basis. A further stimulus to expansion came on the tenth anniversary of independence, when President Kenyatta decreed that tuition would no longer be charged for the first four years of primary schooling. By 1978 it was estimated that 80 percent of all eligible children were attending primary school and that one-fourth of all primary school graduates were receiving some form of postprimary education. A corresponding expansion occurred at the tertiary level, with the result that in many areas Kenya has realized its goal of manpower self-sufficiency.

Other aspects of Kenya's educational inheritance have been less easy to rectify than the problem of providing enough school places. The educational structure of the colonial system remains nearly intact: seven years of primary schooling, four years of lower secondary, and two years of higher secondary, followed by three years of tertiary education. At the end of each stage, national examinations still determine which students will pass and who will proceed to the next stage. These examinations exert tremendous influence on what is actually taught in primary and secondary schools, regardless of what the curriculum calls for, what school inspectors advise, or what progressive teacher trainers encourage. For example, despite considerable efforts to introduce activity methods and discovery learning in primary education, the upper primary grades remain tied to the monotonous rote learning of factual information, largely because the certificate of primary education examination tests such material.

Schools in Kenya are still largely staffed by insufficiently trained teachers, whose numbers have increased since 1973 when universal free education was put into effect in the lower primary grades. These teachers of only modest ability can seriously hamper innovative curriculum ideas that rely heavily on the teacher's resourcefulness. At the secondary school level a different problem has existed as a result of the heavy reliance on non-Kenyan teachers (more than 33 percent in 1973), particularly in mathematics and science. Although the dependence on expatriates was easing by the mid-1970s, for a significant period of time after independence many Kenyan children were still being taught by persons not intimately familiar with African culture nor necessarily sympathetic to nationalistic aspirations. In general, political change in Kenya had not automatically brought solutions to educational problems related to structure, examinations, teaching methods, and teacher supply. All of these difficulties have impeded efforts to change social studies education.

The colonial legacy in curriculum goals and content presented still another obstacle to educational reform after independence. Although the colonial era had seen many efforts to "adapt" school curricula to rural conditions and African traditional culture, these had met with only modest success. Besides being costly to implement, such adaptations ran counter to African political demands for equivalence with their colonial rulers in all areas, including schooling. The result was that both primary and secondary schooling generally reflected British values and practices, used European rather than African content and examples in curriculum, and was largely academic rather than practical in outlook. As it increasingly came to be presented by poorly trained African teachers in ill-equipped rural schools, colonial style education was largely a memory exercise for African pupils rather than training in how to observe, question, experiment, and solve problems.

The Beginnings of an Indigenous Educational Plan

Confronted by this series of educational dilemmas at independence, national leaders appointed the first African-controlled education commission to chart future directions in schooling conducive to nation building. This commission recommended that education in Kenya must be made to serve national interests, but at the same time cultivate individual skills and talents. Subsequent reports have also accepted this line of thinking, so that today the official, national goals of education read as follows:

> Education in Kenya must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity . . . ; meet the economic and social needs of national development . . . ; provide opportunities for the fullest development of individual talents and personality . . . ; promote social equality . . . ; respect, foster, and develop Kenya's rich and varied cultures . . . ; and foster positive attitudes about other countries.[1]

In line with these objectives, numerous important curriculum changes have been implemented in an effort to make schooling less colonial and more Kenyan. As will be seen this transformation has been more evolutionary than revolutionary, building upon established practice rather than embarking on a total revision of content and method.

All curriculum development and syllabus revision has been carried out by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), a semiautonomous professional body created in 1964 to oversee both curriculum matters and teacher training. In 1967 KIE introduced a new provisional syllabus for primary education that contained considerably more local content but generally retained old subject divisions, with English, mathematics, and science receiving the major emphasis.

Social studies was not to be taught as a unified subject, but many of its concerns were included separately under language, history, geography, science, music, and crafts. The study of geography, which began in Standard III (grade 3), focused on the area immediately surrounding the school, then gradually extended to other parts of Kenya, other parts of Africa, and the rest of the world. Teachers were encouraged to get pupils actively involved in projects, model making, and reports on various local topics. In history, which also began in Standard III, pupils first studied the traditional ways of life of various African groups in precolonial Kenya. They then shifted to surveys of ancient Middle Eastern civilizations, and finally studied the European exploration, annexation, and administration of Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Under the 1967 syllabus, religious education continued to be taught in primary schools even though school management had shifted from mission bodies to local civil authorities. Local churches often continued to sponsor schools, and the religious education syllabus--which was heavily Christian and biblical in content--was adjusted to conform to the particular religious orientation of the sponsor. Agriculture, which formerly had been taught as a separate subject, became one of the topics in general science. A few periods a week were also designated for music, arts, and crafts; these tended to draw on examples from the local culture. In general, the 1967 syllabus retained traditional subjects that provided young Kenyans with many new opportunities to learn about their own society, but not in a unified, integrated manner.

Innovations in Language Teaching

The area of language teaching proved to be both the most innovative and the most influential in stimulating subsequent changes in all primary teaching. Under the 1967 syllabus some primary schools employed vernaculars as the initial medium of instruction, taught English as a subject, then shifted over to English as a medium in Standard IV and taught the *lingua franca*, Swahili, as a subject. Increasingly, however, many schools switched to the "new primary approach," which combined English-medium instruction from the first day of schooling with activity teaching methods. The original book series for the project, known as the *Peak* series, was now supplemented by KIE-sponsored materials called the *New Peak* series and *Safari* English, both of which had distinctly African settings and contained detailed instructions for teachers. This trend in language instruction was important for the social studies for two reasons. First, while vernacular languages continued to be taught as subjects, children now learned about their own and other societies in a foreign language. Second, the new pupil-centered, activity emphasis in language eventually spread across the entire primary curriculum in the form of attempts to minimize monotomous rote learning.

Nonetheless, because of the heavy hand of tradition, an enormous gap still existed between official methodological precepts and actual classroom practices in rural and urban schools alike. As school expansion grew apace, resources were too scarce to provide adequate retraining programs for the nation's teachers, many of whom continued to teach the new syllabi and materials in the old ways. Similarly, the certificate of primary education examination at the end of Standard VII failed to adopt new testing procedures to match the active-learning methods. This examination remained largely factual in scope, and since it was the sole selection device for secondary school entrance, teachers drilled heavily on facts and pupils memorized anything that might appear on the exam. In summary, the early national period saw the introduction of a new primary school syllabus in 1967 that encouraged moves toward an innovative African curriculum but which in practice still left pupils learning a host of facts with no meaningful context.

Since the 1967 syllabus was only a provisional program, work was soon begun at KIE to make improvements in it. Beginning in 1973, new syllabi were introduced in Standard I and progressively up the grade ladder each year thereafter. Although this revision substantially increased local emphasis in the curriculum, schools retained the fairly traditional subject boundaries to which Kenyan teachers were accustomed. Children now began learning Swahili in the first year, studied only African history throughout the primary grades, and received much of their initial schooling in a mother-tongue medium. This change in language policy was due, in part, to the realization that the activity methods of the new primary approach worked best when conducted in a language familiar to the young pupils. Teachers had found that pupils were much more spontaneous and inquisitive about their environment when instructed in their mother tongue, but became perplexed and confused when similar instruction was given in English--a language few had known at home. In general, this wave of innovation provided Kenyan schools with a more-indigenous program but with few real reforms in structure or evaluation. Critics continued to charge that the schools were irrelevant to local culture, rural development needs, and the growing problem of youth unemployment.

A Shift in Emphasis Toward Things African

Similar postindependence trends occurred in the secondary school curriculum: traditional subject divisions were retained, but course content was modified to include more African content and examples. The process of localization was made easier when control over the secondary school certificate examinations was gradually transferred, beginning in 1968, from Cambridge University to the East African Examinations Council. In history, for example, courses dealing with English history and the Commonwealth gave way almost entirely to African regional history. As research and new books became available to schools, the emphasis within the East African history syllabus increasingly shifted away from European experiences in Africa to African perceptions of and activities in colonial life and rule. A similar trend occurred in literature, whose title was changed from English literature to literature in English in order to accommodate the growing number of works by African authors. However, the essay format of the external examinations remained for the most part unchanged, leaving little incentive for teachers to experiment with project work, integrated studies, or courses with a social science bias. In fact, many teachers had all they could do to cope with the new local content, let alone consider breaking away from traditional teaching modes.

The picture that emerges in social studies education in Kenya a decade and a half after independence is a rather mixed one. A pupil who completes primary school will be literate in English (and perhaps in Swahili), will have studied numerous aspects of local history and geography, will be aware of how the nation is governed, and will have had some exposure to local crafts and music. Despite official policy, however, the average school does very little to engage learners in firsthand experiences with the local economy, government, or rural development. Few practical skills are taught--particularly in agriculture, in which more than three-fourths of the population is engaged. No sustained attempts are made to inculcate attitudes conducive to political loyalty, cooperative endeavor, or social change. Instead, most teaching is directed toward an inert body of knowledge which may appear on the external examination that determines which students will continue with schooling. In secondary school students are again exposed to a fairly conservative, subject-centered curriculum which has become highly localized in subject matter but which is relatively unaffected by new ideas and techniques of social studies education. A closer look at one recent social studies curriculum project will establish additional reasons why change has been so restricted.

The Mombasa Conference

Serious efforts to establish new approaches in social studies education in emerging African countries began in the late 1960s, when representatives of the Educational Development Center (EDC) in the United States and the Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas (CREDO) in England met with African representatives to explore curriculum needs and priorities in Africa. Both the United States and Britain were in the midst of making major revisions in how the social studies were conceived and taught; this trend was now to be transferred to developing countries which were also seeking new ways to educate their youth. In August 1968, EDC and CREDO officials met again in Mombasa, Kenya, with representatives from all over Africa and established a plan to improve social studies education, particularly at the primary level. Central to their strategy was the concept of

> an integrated approach to learning about the world of the child, which would provide him with active experiences, involve him in his own society, and imbue him with a spirit of inquiry and of social consciousness. In this way the school would become an instrument for community development in both the urban and rural areas, instead of being merely an agent contributing to the tendency for school leavers to move from the village to the towns or city in search of white-collar jobs.[2]

Participants at this conference concluded that an integrated social studies program ought to produce inquisitive learners who were appreciative of and knowledgeable about their local communities and who possessed the training, skills, and attitudes to work toward beneficial social change. They believed that the initial years of schooling ought to be infused with a concern for training children to understand their local community, and that all teachers ought to understand such concepts as role, value, groups, and institutions. At the upper primary level, the participants urged, although tradition favored teaching history, geography, and civics separately, these subjects ought to be treated as cohesive core subjects of the social studies, and more social science and creative arts should be worked into teaching programs.[3] The Mombasa Conference, in effect, opened the way for new curriculum development in social studies in Africa but recognized the fact that educational practices and traditions could not be replaced overnight.

The Mombasa proposals found a receptive audience at KIE, especially since they echoed in many respects the philosophy and methods already being implemented in the new primary approach program for language training. In fact, the General Methods Section at KIE was already encouraging primary teachers to "provide the child with plenty of opportunity to experiment, explore, discover, and investigate his environment to the fullest."[4] Kenya's teachers were urged to stop relying on textbooks and the blackboard and instead to plan excursions, skits, plays, reports, and projects as integral parts of their teaching methods. A further step was taken in 1968 when a Social Sciences Education Section was created at KIE to experiment with the Mombasa proposal for an integrated approach in primary social studies. The program was to be based on a KIE-sponsored survey of preschool learning which explored ways to link school work with the child's immediate environment. KIE officials felt that, although existing primary schooling rightly emphasized the teaching of basic language, mathematical, and reading skills, the way these skills were taught had little if any relationship to the social and physical environment of the average Kenyan child. The Social Studies Education Project now set itself the task of integrating traditional skill learning with learning about the local community. Its first teacher's guide contained the following rationale statement:

> The *basic* ingredient of this approach is *organized direct investigation in the field*. In other words, giving children direct and firsthand experience of the immediate environment so that they can record, analyze, and interpret those experiences. By developing skills at first hand and using experiences of their own environment, we believe that children can develop understandings and ways of working which allow them to examine similar materials in a more conceptualized form.[5]

Experiments With a New Social Studies Curriculum

Over the next two years a small team of curriculum planners designed and produced experimental units of work for this new social studies approach. By early 1970 a guide had been circulated to 26 primary schools, and short courses had been conducted in four regions to acquaint teachers with the nature of this experimental work in social studies. After further workshops in August and December on aspects of the program and instruction in creating a social studies unit, the new program was launched on a trial basis in the 26 schools in January 1971. Cooperating teachers were given guides for constructing their own units around such themes as the home and the school, along with clear explanations of the concepts and objectives each topics ought to involve. For example, one suggested theme viewed the home as a basic governing unit in which members played various roles according to certain established rules and regulations. Teachers were also expected to show how

173

life in the home was related to the surrounding community, particularly in economic terms. Pupils observed and were questioned about what was happening in their own homes; their responses helped establish a pattern for learning about family life. After the initial year of teaching this new social studies material, evaluation by KIE identified gaps and flaws in the guides which were corrected in later materials developed for teachers.

During the second trial year, signs began to indicate that serious difficulties lay ahead. These problems did not involve the way in which the project had conceptualized social studies education so much as the limited ability to implement a major new program in Kenya at that time. Within the parent body of KIE, serious staffing problems were apparent. There were only three curriculum developers in the Social Science Section; these people were assigned to handle all curriculum matters for geography, history, and religious education in primary schools, secondary schools, and teacher-training colleges in addition to all the development work for the experimental social studies project. As a result, major difficulties arose in producing satisfactory teacher guides and in seeing that these reached the trial schools on schedule. The small project staff had neither time nor money to produce the variety of teaching aids originally envisioned or to conduct vital inservice workshops with cooperating teachers.

Yet another major probem had to do with the teachers themselves. The KIE staff found that many teachers involved in the experimental program needed additional training in order to cope with the demands of innovative teaching. The problem was compounded by administrative decisions that all too frequently transferred teachers in the experimental program out of the trial schools, leaving the task of continuing the new social studies program to replacements unfamiliar with its rationale or methods. Finally, the project staff encountered a general lack of commitment by teachers to their profession. As one progress report noted, primary teachers, particularly in rural areas, spent much of their time and energy operating small shops or managing family farms in order to supplement their salaries, noting that

> . . . this affects the time, effort, and serious thinking that would otherwise be devoted to professional work. Until the system changes, and therefore teachers' attitudes change, there is little that we as curriculum developers can do to change the situation.[6]

It was clear that the project was encountering obstacles beyond its means and resources to surmount and which threatened to bring about the collapse of the entire experiment. These administrative, financial, and professional problems continued, unabated, until KIE officially halted work on the struggling project in late 1975. For all immediate purposes, the first significant effort to introduce a modern concept of social studies teaching into Kenyan primary schools had failed badly. When seen as part of a long-range process of curriculum renewal and reform, however, the project made a significant positive contribution by revealing key obstacles to reform and by elaborating a new philosophy for schooling relevant to the needs and aspirations of a developing country like Kenya. A second major attempt to reform schooling is now under way in Kenya, and, significantly, the external issues upon which reform is dependent are being dealt with along with the now-obvious curriculum deficiencies.

Economic Factors

Kenyan officials are now extremely concerned about the growing youth unemployment problem and the disparities in the society's system of incentives and rewards. The modern sector of the economy has not kept pace with school growth; each year, many of the 250,000 school graduates fail to find employment. These youth migrate to the cities and towns seeking jobs because they know that the dividends there can be far higher than those offered in the countryside. As jobs have grown scarce, qualification levels have risen; many positions formerly filled by primary graduates now require at least a secondary-school certificate. The importance placed on paper qualifications has, in turn, increased the pressures on teachers to get students through the national examinations at the end of primary and secondary school. Unfortunately, these examinations test few of the skills and abilities that would enable a young person to enter a trade or self-employment.

Apprehension over this situation is shared by international agencies, among them the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank, both of which have surveyed Kenya's economic and educational development. As a result of this concern, Kenya is now preparing to make fundamental structural and curriculum changes in the schools, largely along lines advocated in such earlier experimental projects as the new primary approach and the Primary Social Studies Project. A brief study of the evolution of the reform effort will reveal directions that social studies education is likely to take in Kenya in the near future.

In 1972 a UNDP-funded report suggested a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya which led to discussion about a number of critical educational reforms. In addition to suggesting ways of stimulating economic activity and achieving a more-equitable division of rewards and resources, the report recommended four major changes in education to better prepare youth for a wholesome, productive life. It counseled that the existing academic primary system, which trains youth to do little more than pass a dubious selection examination, should be replaced by an eight- or nine-year basic cycle concentrated on the educational needs of the vast majority who will not enter secondary education. In effect, this change would mean greater emphasis in schools on preparing youth for employment opportunities in rural areas and in the informal sector of the economy. The report urged the addition of many more prevocational subjects to the curriculum, particularly in the last two years of education, and elimination of the system of external examination, with its deleterious effects on teaching methods and curriculum reform. Instead of testing factual retention, the report noted, assessment procedures should evaluate basic skills, reasoning skills, and practical skills. Furthermore, the report continued, existing informal technical training schemes ought to be welded into a viable post-primary educational stage. In this form of schooling, those youth who did not proceed to some form of comprehensive secondary education could be offered further opportunities to gain employable skills or to qualify for secondary or tertiary levels of education.

The report also advocated a quota system for secondary selection which would spread school places evenly throughout the country, perhaps by allotting a set figure to each primary school. Such a move might further encourage the abandonment of the tradition of teaching only for the selection examination. These reforms would constitute the educational component of a development strategy designed to stimulate productivity and distribute benefits more equitably.

The Need for a Relevant Education Program

With the publication of this wide-ranging set of recommendations for economic, educational, and social policy, a rather lengthy process was begun which ultimately promises to create fundamental changes in how Kenyan youth learn about their society and how to be effective citizens. However, it is indicative of the evolutionary nature of the change process in Kenya that two more lengthy reports were needed to finalize the new directions.

On the tenth anniversary of independence, the World Bank sponsored a mission to Kenya to advise the nation on development plans for the second decade of nation building. While representatives of the mission found Kenya's overall economic growth rate admirable (a 7 percent average increase in Gross Domestic Product between 1964 and 1972), they cautioned that recent declines would necessitate policy changes in order to sustain growth and to ensure that the rewards of economic expansion were shared more equitably. As far as schooling was concerned, they made this statement:

> The mission's conclusions, therefore, go a little further than the now-common plea for education and training to be more relevant to the country's social and economical needs. We feel it is necessary for the whole economic environment to be manipulated, by both direct and indirect means, so that it offers suitable rewards to the individual to acquire and use skills that are appropriate to the needs of the society as a whole. In other words, the people of Kenya will demand "relevant" education and training when--and only when--the incentives system makes it individually profitable for them to do so.[7]

The economic answer, it was felt, lay in the promotion of small-scale enterprise, including commercial, industrial, and agricultural endeavors. By making such enterprises economically attractive, the report held that popular support would follow to make education more concerned with technical skills, rural development, and social transformation.

The development plan for 1974-1978 forecasted a major review of the education system, and in late 1975 the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies was appointed. During 1976 the committee received extensive data and opinions from members of the general public as well as from educators and government advisers regarding inadequacies in the educational system. Most agreed that the schools needed to teach in, through, and about the local environment so that

176

Kenyan youths could become productive, knowledgeable citizens. Preliminary indications were that the committee favored extending the basic cycle to nine years, replacing the existing primary examination with a totally revised method of assessment, and infusing the curriculum with the active learning of practical skills. Only the tremendous cost involved in such a reorientation seemed to dampen enthusiasm for far-reaching reform of existing practices. Past experience has shown that, in the absence of sufficient commitment to and financial resources for educational change in Kenya, the weight of tradition is sufficient to undermine attempts at innovation.

What impact has all this concern for reforming education had on social studies education? All that can be said at present is that the first 15 years of independence paved the way, gradually, for a national willingness to experiment on a large scale with innovative techniques and programs. The first wave of change in national education was largely focused on replacing alien curriculum materials with those of a local, African focus. The second phase promises to seek ways of ensuring that educational objectives and teaching methods help Kenyan boys and girls learn about their society by being directly engaged in its affairs.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. "National Goals of Education," in *Curriculum Guide for Secondary Schools*, vol. 1 (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1973), pp. 1-3.

2. *Report of a Conference of African Educators, EDC and CREDO on Social Studies*, p. 9, as quoted in P.C.C. Evans, "Recent Developments in the Teaching of Social Studies in Certain Developing Countries," *Teacher Education in New Countries* 12 (1972), p. 268.

3. P.C.C. Evans, "Recent Developments," p. 269.

4. Kenya Institute of Education Report, June 1968.

5. *Social Studies Experimental Work. Teachers Guide 1: The Program* (Nairobi: Kenya Institute of Education, 1972), p. 8.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

7. *Kenya: Into the Second Decade* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 11-12.

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15. *Social Studies in Papua New Guinea*

A Climate of Emerging Nationalism

By Ian Whelan

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Papua New Guinea became internally self-governing on December 1, 1973. It did so quietly and without any fuss despite the extreme apprehension of many, both white and black. The government closed all hotels for the day but did not declare a public holiday. Many Papuans from villages outside Port Moresby left their modern-style homes and jobs in Port Moresby for a day or two and returned to the security of their home villages. Plans to announce the new constitution and move into full independence in mid-1974 were frustrated by a power struggle between the chief minister, Somare, and a minority group led by John Kaputin and Father John Momis, two radical members of the ruling coalition. In the ensuing confrontation, Somare emerged a proven leader of the government and Kaputin lost his justice minister's portfolio. Curriculum development in the social sciences in Papua New Guinea, in recent years, has been extensively influenced by this atmosphere of emerging, though confused, nationalism.

The 3 million people of Papua New Guinea represent approximately 700 different language groups and inhabit 184,000 square miles of the eastern part of an island complex which lies to the north of Australia and extends to within two degrees of the equator. The western half of the islands are now Indonesian, and amicable relationships currently exist despite problems caused by Free Papua activists' attempts to seek sanctuary on the eastern side of the border.

For the curriculum developer, of constant concern is the diversity of the Papuan and New Guinean peoples, which at least has the virtue of being so extreme that all recognize its existence. The need to look to all of Asia and not merely to the South Pacific (with which, for obvious ethnic reasons, Papua New Guineans feel a much stronger sense of identification) is a problem not so readily recognized. A further complication has been the widespread prejudice against Asian people. A critical need for teachers in 1974 led to the trial recruitment of Filipino teachers, a step which perhaps represented the beginning of a change in attitude toward southeast Asia.

The government attempted to redress some of the country's major imbalances in development by means of the 1973-1978 Development Plan, the major goals of which are summarized in Figure 15a. A major problem for the curriculum developer is the inherent contradiction between the goal of rapid indigenization of ownership and management on the one hand and, on the other hand, the goal of ensuring equal shares for all. Educational policy since 1973 has oscillated between the two extremes. Given the country's limited resources, postprimary and tertiary education can meet the need to develop an elite to take over top management and government only at the expense of the primary and basic-literacy education required if all are to share equally.

Figure 15a

GOALS OF THE EIGHT-POINT IMPROVEMENT PLAN

1. Increase in the proportion of economy controlled by Papua New Guineans. A rapid increase in the proportion of the economy under the control of Papua New Guinean individuals and groups, and in the proportion of personal property income that goes to Papua New Guineans.

2. Equal distribution of benefits. More-equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement toward equalization of income and services in different areas of the country.

3. Decentralization. Decentralization of economic activity, planning, and government spending, with emphasis on agricultural development, village industry, better internal trade, and the channeling of spending through local and area bodies.

4. Small-scale artisan activities. An emphasis on small-scale artisan, service, and business activity, relying where possible on typically Papua New Guinean forms of organization.

5. Self-reliance. A more self-reliant economy, less dependent for its needs on imported goods and services and better able to meet the needs of its people through local production.

6. Locally raised revenue. Increased capacity to meet government spending needs from locally raised revenue.

7. Equal participation by women. A rapid increase in the active and equal participation of women in all types of economic activity.

8. Necessary government control and involvement. Government control and involvement in those sectors of the economy where control is necessary to assure the desired kind of development.

Elitism is an interesting issue for the social education curriculum planner. In early 1976, only 14 percent of the total population of Papua

New Guinea lived in the towns, but this percentage included 90 percent of the expatriate population. Less than one-third of the total population derived most of its income from the monetized part of the economy, and fewer still were literate. In the 19 provinces and the national capital district, less than 50 percent of eligible children were in school, and there were some vacant places. (The national figure was a little less than 60 percent.) Extremely rugged terrain, a limited and fragmented road network, and the necessity of relying on expensive air travel are factors militating against development.

On the credit side, Papua New Guinea has had a less-painful colonial history than many other countries. It has no major tribal divisions such as those which have plagued parts of Africa, and less than 5 percent of the land is alienated (although the traditional tenure system complicates economic development and lending or other bank procedures). Furthermore, Papua New Guinea is assured of continuing aid from Australia, as well as from other countries.

The Educational Setting

The structure of precollege education in Papua New Guinea is shown in Figure 15b. Graduates of the national high school may go on to attend the university, the teachers' college, or the agricultural college. Students who do not go on to national high school or college may elect to enroll at one of the largely self-supporting vocational centers for a one-year course. The national high school is for only a small percentage of the provincial high school graduates. Many of these students who expect to continue to the university complete a college-preparation program in just one year.

Adult education is much talked about but little practiced, although the Education Department maintains a token field force and a large College of External Studies (correspondence school).

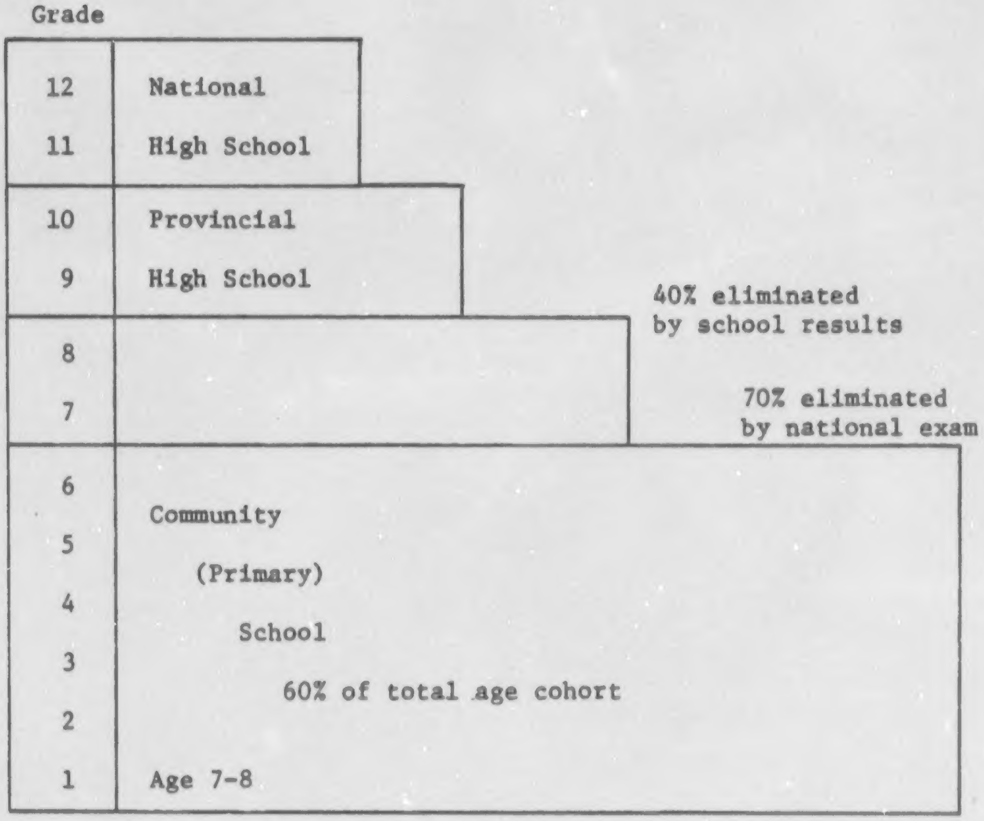
All schools, most of which were once mission-run, are now part of an integrated national system. A few religious groups, most notably the Seventh-Day Adventists, elected not to be included.

The teaching force is increasingly Papua New Guinean. By 1977 all primary school teachers, 51 percent of secondary school teachers, and almost 24 percent of the college instructors were indigenous. The secretary of education, most assistant secretaries, and a majority of the senior staff members of the Education Department are also Papua New Guinean. English is the language of instruction throughout the school system, although in the early primary years local languages are now being given more attention.

For the curriculum planner, several implications emerge from these facts. The brutal selectivity of the system creates enormous pressures for conservatism, as does the tradition of church-sponsored education by a variety of religious affiliations. Because so few students continue in school past the primary stage, there is a need to pack as much content as possible into the first six grades. Educators are increasingly expected to force new kinds of "essential knowledge" into an already fact-dominated curriculum, thus compounding the problem of elitism.

Figure 15b

THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER


Grade
12
11
National
High School
10
9
Provincial
High School
40% eliminated
by school results
8
7
70% eliminated
by national exam
6
5
4
3
2
1
Community
(Primary)
School
60% of total age cohort
Age 7-8

Curriculum Development in an Emerging Nation

Curriculum programs in a developing country generally proceed through four identifiable phases:

1. Courses of study, support materials, and textbooks are mainly *imported*--most often from the colonial power or the home countries of missionaries.
2. Imported courses and materials are *adapted* to better suit local needs.
3. As the country achieves independence, *transitional* local development takes place under the control of expatriates--most frequently from the colonizing power.
4. Finally, the process moves toward genuinely *indigenous* development.

The four stages in this sequence are not likely to occur in neat succession. Emerging national leaders may seek a reversion to more-formal imported courses of an earlier period, since these are more compatible with social authoritarianism, or they might want to move quickly into stage four.

Among the courses imported by Papua New Guinea were the Australian New South Wales state syllabi in history and social studies. The adaptive phase produced a primary science course developed under United Nations leadership after a Sarawak model and a primary social studies syllabus which was transparently borrowed from New South Wales. The Secondary Social Science Project (SSSP) described in the following section, represents the transitional phase. Expatriate-controlled local developers sought to achieve cultural integrity and to return to earlier principles--most of which had never been validated experimentally for Papua New Guinea. The new Primary Social Studies Project and the planned revision of the SSP are fledgling examples of indigenous development.

The Secondary Social Science Project: A Case Study

Widespread discontent with existing social education led to the initiation, in 1968, of the Secondary Social Science Project (SSSP). Although in its early stages the progress of the project was somewhat erratic and unsystematic, after 1970 the development of this comprehensive experimental curriculum proceeded according to the organizational framework shown in Figure 15c.

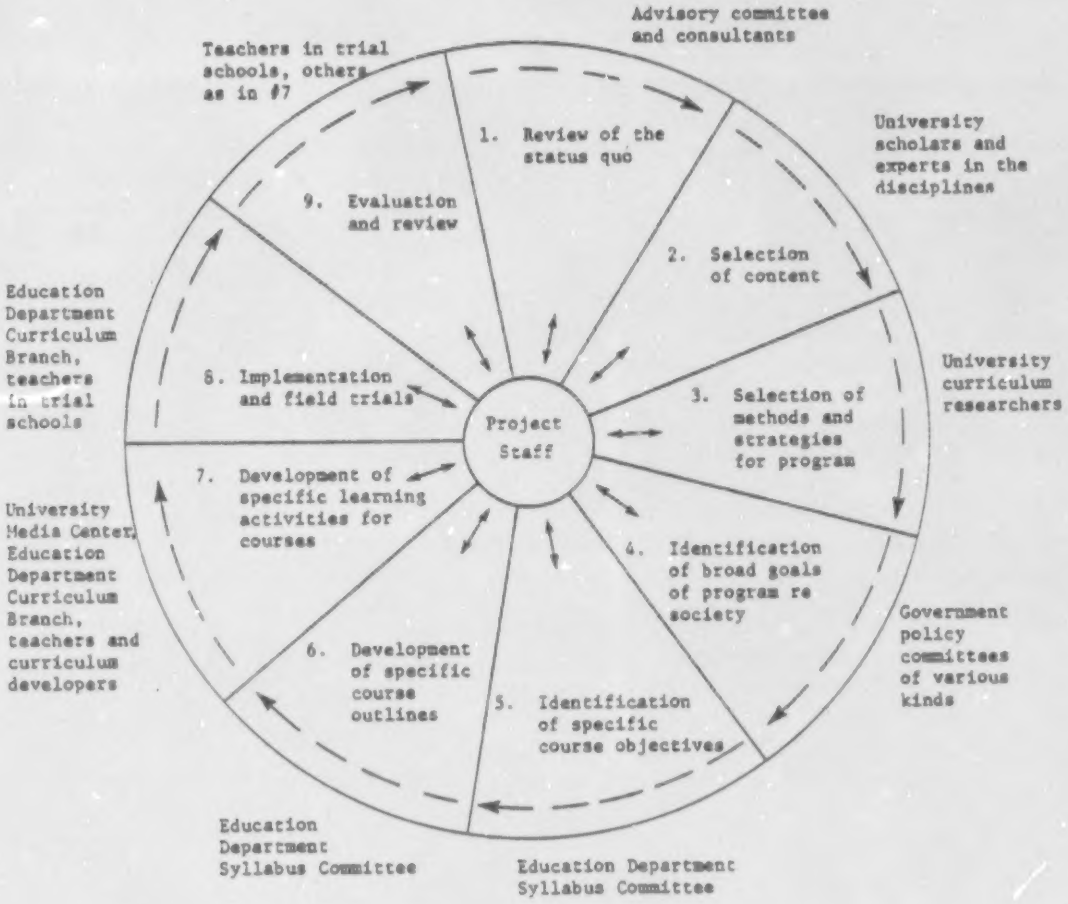
The organizational model is not simply a linear-development model arranged to look like something more flexible, since interaction between all cells took place as the project gathered momentum. The full-time curriculum staff may be seen as the hub of the wheel, facilitating this interaction. A newly appointed professor of law (segment 2) might be involved in the development of studies of legal concepts (segment 7). A government statement of national goals (segment 4)--for example, the Eight-Point Plan--may affect activities in segments 5, 6, and 7. Feedback (segment 9) from trials of materials (segment 7) may fundamentally change assumptions about learning styles (segment 3).

Note that work began under control of imported consultants; however, local committees and work groups, the Department of Education's Curriculum Branch, and the University of Papua New Guinea's Media Center gradually took over. Teachers, academics, and others contributed generously by providing advice and written material and participating in brainstorming sessions. Their involvement made it possible to depend largely on informal, unpaid-for contributions, which gave richness and variety to the course. It proved very difficult to use material written outside Papua New Guinea, with a few notable exceptions. For example, borrowing ideas and materials from the South Pacific area, particularly from Palau and Suva, proved most rewarding.

This model shown in Figure 15c was on occasion referred to as the "Whelan Dartboard Model," and in fact that image could well explain many of the less-systematic, even absurd, blunders in curriculum development. In the case of some of these, one could almost believe that a blindfolded politician, administrator, or curriculum developer had thrown a

Figure 15c

MODEL OF THE SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES PROJECT


Advisory committee and consultants
Teachers in trial schools, others as in #7
1. Review of the status quo
9. Evaluation and review
University scholars and experts in the disciplines
2. Selection of content
Education Department Curriculum Branch, teachers in trial schools
8. Implementation and field trials
Project Staff
3. Selection of methods and strategies for program
University curriculum researchers
7. Development of specific learning activities for courses
University Media Center, Education Department Curriculum Branch, teachers and curriculum developers
4. Identification of broad goals of program re society
Government policy committees of various kinds
6. Development of specific course outlines
5. Identification of specific course objectives
Education Department Syllabus Committee
Education Department Syllabus Committee

dart and then commenced a lock-step linear development program from the point at which his dart had hit. (Clearly, some failed to hit the board at all.)

The Nature of the Program

The goal of the SSSP was to develop an interdisciplinary course, strongly built around understanding of Papua New Guinea, with concept development providing the main rationale. Hilda Taba was a major formative influence; however, other aspects of the program--most notably the identification of key concepts from contributing disciplines and the translation of these into analytical questions in an inquiry model--were inspired by the work of Edwin Fenton. Above all, the course was designed to promote national--or, more appropriately, cultural--integrity.

Objectives. The following teaching objectives were cited in early drafts of the course outline:

--To increase self-understanding in relation to other individuals, social groups, and society.

--To increase understanding of the central processes of modern society, particularly as they affect the development of Papua New Guinea.

--To teach elementary skills of social inquiry and social action and, through understanding of social processes, ultimately to increase the potential contribution students can make to the development of their country.

--To foster attitudes which will support the individual's growth in a changing society and which will lead to commitment to active participation in social life. These attitudes include tolerance of differences (individual, ethnic, national, international); respect for individual and human rights; critical thinking, particularly on social issues; and commitment to group decision making at class, local, national, and international levels.

--To employ such methods as systematic observation, surveys, documentary research, and experimentation as a basis for acquiring objective knowledge.

Content. The content of the course came as something of a shock to many, ranging as it did from surveys to case studies and from contemporary times to prehistory, with much emphasis on Papua New Guinea from the national's point of view and a drastic reduction in studies of Australia. Inevitably, content dealing with key international events, physical geography, and "big facts" had to be drastically reduced in order to make room for exploration of the individual, groups, and the national society and its institutions. One of the first lessons in the curriculum for grade 7 (the first year of secondary school) was based on case studies in role conflict--significantly, it was a notable success. At grade 9, controversy arose in many schools over content dealing with evolution, juxtaposed with a study of prehistory in Papua New Guinea. Experienced mission-school teachers were astonished by the vehemence of the science vs. Christianity debate, which they had not suspected to be of consequence in Papua New Guinea. Ironically, case studies for grade 8 which dealt with developing self-concepts and included discussions of sexual behavior and the risk of pregnancy for girls living away from home aroused little antagonism.

Skills. The skills identified for development were particularly demanding, requiring close ties with mathematics and English learning programs. Complaints arose that social science demanded too much, but evidence from the field trials strongly suggested that other subject areas demanded too little. Teachers often forgot that they were dealing with only the top 30 percent of the primary school population. This was not social studies as a lower-stream option, as has often been the case in Australia, but a compulsory core subject for an elite.

Concepts. The concepts, as might have been expected, proved difficult to identify in a specific or definitive way. The basic list of concepts for emphasis as analytical tools in grades 7 and 8 was as follows:

Theme: Similarities and differences
Concepts:
self
group
community
village
family
race
role
status
conflict
resources
technology
communication
development
values
prejudice
ideology
colonialism
authority
power
law
stereotype
custom

A concept/topic grid or matrix was used as a planning device in later years in order to ensure systematic and comprehensive development. In the teachers' guides, three classifications were used to simplify the concept lists: (1) key concepts to a topic, (2) concepts being introduced, groundwork laid, and (3) concepts already developed and being employed. A modified form of Repertory Grid Testing was developed as a research tool for exploring students' concepts, establishing profiles of attributes, permitting better-informed planning, and evaluating growth in key concept areas. Although the technique seemed to offer some advantages, it was little used.

Implementation of the Program

The greatest concern of everyone involved with the project was to make real changes in the social education of children, not merely to introduce a new combination of educational cliches unrelated to actual practice. Would something different happen in the classroom on Monday morning?

Materials. Provision of a broad spectrum of materials was judged to be necessary. Libraries and professional resources were generally inaccessible to teachers in Papua New Guinea; staff turnover was high; teachers came from all over the world; the kinds of interdisciplinary materials needed were not readily available, particularly given the country's third-world/second-language status; teachers would require evidence of full Education Department support before agreeing to use the curriculum.

The format agreed on called for approximately 40 topics spread over four years. For each topic taught, a participating school would be supplied with a teacher-background reader dealing with theory or content, a detailed lesson-by-lesson activity guide, tapes and slides, games, student copies of the activity guides, scripts, and key documents. The decision to produce the teacher's guides in a format designed to last for only three years (at which point they would begin to self-destruct, presumably) was intended to guarantee local teacher initiative after a settling-in or familiarization period.

Inservice training. Because no funds for special training were available, training and evaluation workshops were treated as inservice functions. (Indeed, multifunctionality was an overriding requirement of all project activities.) Regional meetings were held for this purpose; holding field days in which students were included proved to be very successful in one district.

Preservice training. The university and the teachers' college were both intimately involved in project development work; hence lecturers were briefed on planned change long before it reached the schools. The project's curriculum staff also ran seminars for preservice teachers whenever they visited the teachers' college; these represented the earliest attempts to involve Papua New Guineans at the developmental stage. The principal training institutions for Papua New Guineans in Australia were also supplied with all field-trial materials.

Communication. In their book *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, Everett Rogers and R. Floyd Shoemaker note the need for the change agent to be as similar as possible to the population to be changed. For example, village women often can win over other village women to the idea of boiling drinking water when visiting experts, with access to all the educational gimmicks money can buy, cannot.

During the first 12-18 months of the project, its staff of 11 or 12 were all expatriates and all highly qualified academically. None of them was a practicing high school teacher, nor had any of them taught in Papua New Guinea schools other than on a short-term basis. No member of the original project staff could conceivably have been looked on as "one of us" by teachers, and teachers obviously played no part in decisions related to the project. It became clear that much hard work would be necessary for the project to be accepted by teachers, particularly the newly qualified Papua New Guineans on whose shoulders the burden of implementing the course must ultimately rest.

In a little more than a year, eight teachers had been identified as principal change agents. All were from field-trial schools, had been involved in materials development and appraisal, and were willing and able to assist with troubleshooting in other locations as the revised version of the course was brought into all schools. Some were Papua New Guinean, although as yet so new to teaching in secondary schools that they were a little diffident about taking so assertive a role. Within another year this situation changed too, however, and soon the new graduates were inviting whites antagonistic to the course to leave it alone.

Epilogue: Some Gains Despite Setbacks

The Secondary Social Studies Project was not an immediate success. One suspects that the absence of a communications network linking Papua New Guinea's isolated schools hampered the project from the outset, although some district groups functioned effectively--generally around trial schools, curriculum work groups, or the university or teachers' college.

The project did lead to some changes in educational directives. The National Board of Secondary School Studies decided to abolish history and geography as separate subjects, require social science, and accept Curriculum Branch-guided school assessment (partly via an item bank) in lieu of compulsory external or systemwide examinations. This was seen as quite a breakthrough, although the project team had wished to see separate disciplines remain as electives, particularly in the senior school.

A number of problems plagued the project. Schools were often unable to cope with team-teaching and block-time-allocation needs, the institution of home rooms and resource centers, unorthodox furniture arrangements, noisy classroom activities, frequent out-of-class trips and equally frequent visitors. Administrators needed to plan carefully in order to avoid generating opposition in the community or disappointing overoptimistic expectations. The lock-step monthly testing procedures required for evaluation of the program during field trials created other complications. Because principals were slow to allow specialization in social science teaching, it was difficult for teachers to achieve a total identification with and concentration on the new subject.

Teacher mobility and promotion out of the classroom further complicated the project. Native Papua New Guineans were promoted rapidly to nonteaching roles--some never did teach. Many expatriates were on two-year contracts. Consequently, many teachers never developed a full understanding of the social education concept inherent in the course or sufficient identification with a local community and knowledge of its resources. Thus, the overdependence of the program on published materials seemed likely to continue.

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16. *Social Studies in the Philippines*

Moving Away From the U.S. Model

By Michael Locsin

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The Philippines is a conglomeration of influences. Its 40 million people, scattered on 7,000 islands and speaking more than 80 different dialects, are predominantly of Malayan stock. The Chinese, whose presence in the islands dates back to pre-Spanish times, have always been well represented in the population, and their influence on Philippine cuisine and on the economy is formidable even to the present day. The Spanish conquistadores came in 1521 and colonized the islands for more than 300 years, giving the country its name and a religion: Catholicism. Today, approximately 85 percent of Filipinos are Catholic, and there is still a prevalence of Spanish surnames; however, most Filipinos are primarily English-speaking, not Spanish-speaking. In 1898 the United States occupied the Philippine Islands and introduced democratic principles, a Western-style educational system, and English as the official medium of instruction.

Today, the Philippine form of government is slowly shifting. Although martial law was declared in 1972, deviations from the U.S. model in the educational setting have not been so swift or so radical. Despite the efforts of the Department of Education and Culture to change the medium of instruction to Pilipino, English is still used in most high schools, some grade schools, and all colleges and universities. However, it is safe to say that the Philippines is moving away from the U.S. model slowly but surely; new textbooks, for example, are being printed in Pilipino.

The Educational Setting

The following brief description of education in the Philippines appeared in the report of a national commission:

> The magnitude of educational responsibility in the Philippines is enormous as may be best indicated by quantitative measures and indices. Enrollment at all levels of the education ladder is relatively large for a country with an income per capita of roughly \$200. . . . International comparison ratios of enrollment and graduates to total population show that the Philippines educates as high a proportion of its people as the advanced countries. She ranks second

> to the United States in terms of higher education enrollment per 100,000 population and compares favorably with other advanced countries in terms of enrollment ratios for both elementary and secondary education.[1]

The system provides compulsory elementary education for six years--grades 1 to 6. Thus, because there is a "constitutional provision to provide universal elementary education," most elementary schools are public.[2] The commission concluded that the constitutional commitment to provide free elementary education was generally fulfilled, but that the public elementary school system was beset by problems: "The drop-out rate is high before literacy is achieved."[3]

Secondary education consists of four years of high school after elementary schooling. The commission reported:

> Secondary education is widely believed to be the weak link in the education ladder. If so, this could be the result of the multiple burden placed on it . . . improvement of general education, terminal education through vocational training, and preparation for college.[4]

Tertiary education (higher education) in its present form comes closest to the U.S. model in terms of courses offered, degrees granted, and format (a system of state universities). "Because of the constitutional commitment to provide free primary education, which practically exhausts the education budget of the government," the commission observed, "tertiary education is left to private enterprise."[5] About 580 private colleges and universities enroll 92 percent of all higher education students.[6] The commission found serious deficiencies at this level as well:

> There is a tremendous pressure of social demand for a university or college education which has swollen enrollments through the system of open entry regulated to a large extent by the ability of parents to pay fees. Aggregate output of graduates is much greater than market demand or market needs resulting in underemployment and unemployment of educated manpower.[7]

The Role of Private Education

Private education, most of it under the auspices of various religious orders of the Catholic church, plays a very important role in Philippine education.

Because of the government's constitutional commitment to universal elementary education, the majority of elementary schools are public. However, the best grade schools are generally considered to be private schools, which are mostly found in urban areas. At all other levels of the educational ladder, the government has left it to private enterprise to ensure the education of the Filipino people.

All preschool education is private. The elementary schools run by religious orders have kindergartens; some also have nursery schools and/or prep schools. In recent years a number of independent nursery schools, kindergartens, and Montessori centers have been established in urban areas by both religious and lay educators.

The majority of high schools are private and Catholic. Here again, the supposedly "best" schools--which are sought after and therefore rather selective--fall into this category. It is important to note that the high schools run by the Catholic church range from urban-based schools demanding extremely high tuition to rural high schools charging tuition just slightly higher than that imposed by the locally based public barrio high schools.

Most colleges and universities in the Philippines are privately run. This private sector of higher education can be divided into three categories: Catholic colleges and universities, the oldest of which is the University of Santo Tomas, founded by the Dominican friars in 1611; Protestant colleges and universities, the largest and most prestigious being Silliman University in Dumaguete City; and nonsectarian schools, which range from universities run like business corporations to nonprofit institutions.

The predominance of Catholic education, backed up by a clear and definite Christian philosophy of education and a cohesive and organized clerical army of teachers and administrators, has given birth to a roster of institutionalized organizations unequalled in the public sector; for example, the Catholic Education Association of the Philippines (CEAP), the Philippine Jesuit Educational Association (PJEA), and the only accrediting body in the country, the Philippine Association of Accredited Schools, Colleges and Universities (PAASCU), to name a few. Protestant institutions belong to the Association of Christian Schools and Colleges (ASCA), while the nonsectarian private schools are affiliated with the Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities (PACU). These three sectors of private education combine to form the Coordinating Council of Private Educational Associations (COCOPEA).

Recent Changes in the Educational System

On December 24, 1969, President Ferdinand E. Marcos issued Executive Order no. 202, thereby creating a commission to survey Philippine education. The commission, made up of prominent members of both public and private education and leaders of various occupational fields in Philippine society, was asked primarily "to analyze the performance of the educational system with reference to development goals."

Predecessors of this 1969 commission were the Monroe Survey of 1925 and the 1960 survey of public schools in the Philippines, better known as the Swanson Report. The latter was a survey conducted by a "committee composed of Professor Chester Swanson of the University of California and four other American professors and higher officials of the Bureau of Public Schools and the Department of Education."[8]

The general appraisal of the Swanson report reads as follows:

> Much of the education of the Philippines is simply not good enough to justify the great faith of the people. What will happen to this unquestioning faith in education when the people learn that it is not solving their problems? Will they lose faith in education or in those who are responsible for their educational services?[9]

The 1969 presidential commission discovered that "the great faith of the people" in education had not diminished. But they also discovered that

> The Board of National Education . . . in its Educational Policy Report to the President in 1957 . . . formulated a set of educational objectives that are still being observed at present.[10]

After enumerating these objectives, the committee concluded:

> In the context of planning requirements, the objectives as stated not only need to be translated to more operational terms, but they also define a scope of responsibility that is not feasible for the educational system alone to achieve.[11]

Furthermore, the committee declared:

> Planning has not been the area of strength of Philippine education. This is shown by: (a) the lack of a clear definition in operational terms of the role of education in national development; (b) the absence of long-range goals setting performance targets for each operational component of the educational system; (c) the absence of policy guidelines that define the proper function of each educational level of sector; (d) the nature of the decision-process of both individuals and educational institutions, which is based on free choice rather than guided selection; and (e) the disproportionate magnitude of educational responsibility relative to the capacity of the economy to support the corresponding requirements for educational services.
>
> The developmental role of education is not clearly defined in the present context. The strong social demand for education has minimized the manpower consideration in educational planning as clear targets are not set out for each of the educational levels and for each of the training programs.[12]

Based on their observations and conclusions, members of the presidential committee of 1969 recommended "(a) a restatement of national development goals; (b) a redefinition of educational aims; and specifically, for implementation purposes, (c) the strengthening of the Office of Planning and Research."[13]

It is evident today that since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, national educational aims have been made consistent with national development goals: to make the educational system responsive to the needs and demands of a growing technology.

The Quest for Relevance

> The courses in Social Studies are sterile, largely textbook dominated, with only monosyllabic responses from "students" who have memorized the "answers" in the text. These social studies should be the center of home room activity, continually encouraging maximum student participation and affording growing guidance

> opportunities. Furthermore, a vital student participation in school government can be centered in these social studies classes. "Grass roots" democracy in the high school demands full participation of all students. These classes, properly concerned with civic matters, offer an opportunity which as yet is not being realized in most schools.[14]

The foregoing excerpt from Chapter 3 of the Swanson Report describes the status of the social studies in the 1950s and early 1960s, and gives general suggestions as to how the subject can be made relevant. However, the 1969 Presidential Commission on Philippine Education, being primarily concerned with how the educational system could best be made responsive to national development needs, made no attempt to appraise singular curriculum offerings. In regard to elementary education, the commission emphasized that "basic education should provide literacy and develop in the individual cognitive power, numerical manipulation, and communication skills."[15] In secondary education, the commission noted a need for reform:

> The orientation of secondary education should be changed. The academic content should be strengthened with postponement of the vocational foundation at least a year later. This move would: (a) assure an improved general level of high school education and (b) provide a better preparation for employment for those students whose high school education is to be terminal.
>
> By enriching the academic content of the secondary curriculum, a strong foundation in mathematics and science will be insured. This is a necessity as shown by studies on college freshman preparation which indicate weaknesses in the disciplines of communication, math and science.[16]

These passages indicate that the academic curriculum of both elementary and secondary education in the Philippines centers on mathematics, science, and communication. (*Communication* in the Philippines refers to language arts, both English and Pilipino.)

The social studies may still be in the condition described by the Swanson Report in 1960. However, reforms are being implemented.

The Educational Projects Implementation Task Force of the Philippines (EDPITAF), created by President Marcos in 1972 to implement recommendations of the 1969 commission, is presently concerned with producing updated textbooks and improving teaching methodology in three distinct curriculum areas: the natural sciences (in cooperation with the National Science Development Board), the language arts (English and Pilipino), and the social sciences.

The Social Studies Center at the Education Development Center in the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City, is specifically concerned with the improvement of social studies instruction. Founded in 1967 as the National Committee on Social Studies by a group of Bureau of Public Schools educators and institutionalized in 1969 as a center under the office of the Director of Public Schools, the Social Studies Center has the following objectives: (1) the creation of instructional materials for the social studies at both elementary and secondary levels, (2) the acquisition and development of professional competencies in curriculum development, methodology, and research in teachers of social studies, and (3) the establishment of a research-based social studies program.

The Social Studies Curriculum

The development of effective citizens in a democratic society--well-informed, useful citizens with inquiring minds who actively participate in the solution of social, economic, and political problems and seek to develop strong moral and spiritual values--has been the national objective in the social studies since 1969. (Before 1969 social studies in the Philippines was history- and geography-based rather than interdisciplinary.)

The Elementary Social Studies Curriculum

In the elementary schools, social studies is a required subject from grades 1 to 6. Table 16a shows the weight and position of the social studies in the elementary curriculum in relation to other subjects.

Table 16a

THE ELEMENTARY CURRICULUM

Subject	Time Allotment by Grade Level (in minutes per day)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Character Education	20	20	20	20	20	20
Language Arts:						
Pilipino	60	60	60	60	40	40
English	40	40	60	60	80	80
SOCIAL STUDIES	30	30	30	40	40	40
Mathematics	30	30	30	30	40	40
Music and Arts	30	30	30	30	30	30
Health and Sciences	30	30	30			
Science				30	40	40

Source: Circular no. 16, series 1970, Bureau of Public Schools, Department of Education.

As this table indicates, Filipino grade schoolers in the intermediate years (grades 4 to 6) spend more time with social studies teachers than they spend on mathematics, the fine arts, or science. If, in spite of this fact, the condition of the social studies remains unchanged from that described by the Swanson Report--"sterile, largely textbook-dominated"--the problem may be, not lack of emphasis, but rather lack of relevant methodology and materials.

The topics covered by social studies in the elementary school include the family, the community, the school, Philippine geography, government, and Philippine history, as well as studies on other peoples and cultures. It is differentiated from character education by the latter's emphasis on the moral development of the individual. In the public schools, character education is centered on the individual's proper development and duties to fellow humans, country, and God. In private Catholic schools character education consists of religious instruction focused on the individual's growth as a true and good Christian.

The Secondary Social Studies Curriculum

The secondary school curriculum was revised in 1973. Gradual implementation started in 1974. In 1977 the curriculum was implemented in full force in all high schools in the country, both private and public.

This curriculum reflects the changes effected by the findings and recommendations of the 1969 presidential commission. The emphasis on education for manpower is evident: practical arts was nonexistent in private schools before 1973, as was youth development training, which covers a whole gamut of activities from civic action to military training.

Under the new guidelines, social studies suffers a 20-minute cutback; before 1973, the subject was taught for 200 minutes per week.

Department Order no. 20, which contains curriculum guidelines for various subject areas, prescribes the following syllabus for secondary social studies:

> The social studies offerings have corresponding conceptual themes for each year level. Social Studies I, The Community, has geography, anthropology and sociology as dominant disciplines; Social Studies II, Philippine History and Government, has history and political science; Social Studies III, Development and Progress, gives added stress to economics; Social Studies IV, The World--A Cultural Perspective, gives new emphasis on geography, anthropology, and sociology. Teaching for values will be stressed to develop a concerned citizen in a democratic society.

These descriptive guidelines seem to integrate three approaches to the teaching of the social studies: (1) the interdisciplinary conceptual approach, (2) the values clarification scheme, and (3) the "social science as social studies" approach. Whether this integration is an asset or a liability to the teacher in the classroom is not yet known.

Table 16b

THE REVISED SECONDARY EDUCATION PROGRAM

Subject	Time Allotted (in minutes per week)							
	1st Year		2nd Year		3rd Year		4th Year	
	Min.	Units	Min.	Units	Min.	Units	Min.	Units
Communication Arts (English)	300	2	180	1	180	1	180	1
Communication Arts (Pilipino)	180	1	180	1	180	1	180	1
SOCIAL STUDIES	180	1	180	1	180	1	180	1
Science	180	1	180	1	300	2	300	2
Mathematics	180	1	180	1	180	1	180	1
Practical Arts (vocational)	300	1	300	1	300	1	300	1
Electives:								
Academic			180	1	360	2	360	2
Vocational			300	1	600	2	600	2
Youth Development Training	300	1	300	1	300	1	300	1

Source: Department Order no. 20, series 1973, Department of Education and Culture.

Social Studies in the Secondary Classroom: Two Case Studies

Case studies are useful in showing actual practices. They enlighten us either by exposing a contrast between intended outcomes expressed by objectives and actual outcomes or by revealing a harmony of goals and practice.

The two case studies that follow provide an illustrative example of the social studies curriculum at work in the secondary level. Aside from serving their function of usefulness in showing consistency or inconsistency with educational policy, they are also intended to show the actual development of the social studies in the secondary school classroom and the movements found therein.

High School A

High School A is a private Catholic boys' college-preparatory secondary school with 700 students. It is owned and run by a famous religious order of men dedicated to the following of Christ. The school is supposedly the best in one of the major cities of the island of Mindanao. Its students can best be described as coming from the upper-middle and upper classes of society. Its social science curriculum from the 1950s to the 1970s is as shown in Table 16c.

Table 16c

SOCIAL SCIENCE CURRICULUM IN SCHOOL A

	Decade		
School Year	1950s	1960s	1970s
First Year	American history	Geography	Community life
Second Year	Philippine history (1st sem.) and government	Philippine history and government	Philippine history (1st sem.) and government (2nd sem.)
Third Year	Oriental history	World history (or) Oriental history	World history
Fourth Year	World history	Socioeconomics	Socioeconomics

In the 1950s, Oriental history covered the histories of the Southeast Asian nations, Japan, and China. Occasionally, when time allowed, the history of India was included. In the 1960s, Oriental history covered only the history of Southeast Asian countries. Chinese, Japanese, and Indian history were taught as the first three parts of world history before students were introduced to the development of Western civilization. World history, for the most part, traces the development of Western civilization from the Greeks to World War II, with a brief introduction to Egyptian ancient civilization at the beginning of the course.

Geography was Philippine geography.

Socioeconomics in the 1960s was basically Philippine sociology in the first semester and elementary economics in the second semester.

In the 1970s, the course began to include the concepts of politicalization, social justice, and community involvement.

Community life, taught during the first year in the 1970s, follows the government's guidelines closely in integrating sociological and anthropological approaches in the study of communities: the family, the peer group, the school, the neighborhood, the parish, civic groups, and cultural minorities.

American history and Philippine history and government are self-explanatory. In the second year, Philippine history was and is taught in the first semester, followed by a study of Philippine government in the second semester.

High School B

High School B is a public coeducational high school with a student population of approximately 2,000. Like all other public high schools, it serves both college-bound students and terminal students and caters to a diverse group of students in terms of age and socioeconomic status.

High School B is located in the same city as High School A. Its social studies curriculum for the same period of time (1950s to 1970s) is shown in Table 16d.

Table 16d

SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN SCHOOL B

	Decade		
School Year	1950s	1960s	1970s
First Year	World history	Philippine community life	Philippine community life
Second Year	American history Oriental history	Philippine history and government	Philippine history and government
Third Year	Philippine social life	Philippine problems	Oriental history
Fourth Year	Philippine history	World history	World history

Since almost all of the subjects in the curriculum of High School B are similar to the course offerings of High School A, there is no need for further description except for one: Philippine social life, which was taught during the third year in the 1950s, was actually Philippine sociology.

Conclusions

An analysis of the two social studies curricula reveals the following similarities, differences, and conclusions:

1. The two schools show very different schemes of implementing national policy. This is evidence of the fact that schools are generally given some freedom to interpret and implement policies issued by the Department of Education and Culture. Further case studies would show that this kind of diversity exists even within the public school system.

2. The curricula reveal the predominance of history in the 1950s and, interestingly enough, its resurgence in the public school in the 1970s. It is significant to note that in the 1950s, a student in the private school was taught history all four years. In the public high school, students took history three years out of four in the 1950s and 1970s. It is also worthy of note that, as the private school moves from a social-science-discipline approach toward an interdisciplinary, conceptual approach, the public school is making a sudden turnabout in a more-traditional direction.

3. It is evident in both curricula that the 1950s witnessed the end of major U.S. influence on the social studies program. That was the decade when U.S. history made its exit from Philippine classrooms.

4. Concurrently with the exit of U.S. history in both curricula came the appearance of a new movement, that of nationalization. The public school introduced a course on Philippine community life and Philippine problems in the 1960s; the private school has participated in a more-gradual but consistent manner in the thrust toward emphasizing nationalization.

In conclusion, it appears that the social studies--pronounced "sterile" by experts in 1960 and scolded by policymakers for not being more responsive to national development in 1969--has in fact been sensitive to the needs of the time, especially at the secondary level. Its very sensitivity, however, tends to lead to extreme variations in implementation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

1. *The Educational System of the Philippines: A Brief Overview* (Manila: EDPITAF, 1975), p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Ibid., p. 17.

6. Daniel H. Perlman, "Higher Education in the Philippines: An Overview and Current Problems," *Peabody Journal of Education*, January 1978, p. 120.

7. *The Educational System*, p. 17.

8. Vicente G. Sinco, *A Quest for Effective Education for Filipinos* (Manila: Community Publishers, 1961), p. 105.

9. Ibid., p. 108.

10. Education Survey Report, *Education for National Development: New Patterns, New Directions*, p. 57.

11. Ibid., p. 58.

12. Ibid., p. 59.

13. Ibid., p. 60.

14. Sinco, *A Quest for Effective Education*, p. 105.

15. Fducation Survey Report, p. 67.

16. Ibid., p. 73.

See also *The "New" Social Studies for Philippine Schools*, by Leonardo D. de la Cruz and Lux Samonte-de la Cruz (Manila: Social Studies Publications, 1974).

17. Social Studies in South Korea

Centralization and Conformity

By F.J. Hunt

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* * * * * * *

The Koreans have a long history as a distinctive and separate group of people. They have existed in the Korean peninsula for some 4,000 years, and they claim never to have been subject to mixing with other ethnic groups. This claim is the basis of a concept of ethnic purity and a source of some pride. The Koreans attach high value to their distinctiveness as a people, and it is important to them to retain their identity and their distinctive characteristics.

A second factor of major significance is related to Korea's geographical position. The country has as physical neighbors three major world powers: China, the USSR, and Japan; the United States is virtually a neighbor as a result of the latter's involvement in Asian affairs. This geographical position problem might be more manageable if all Korean people formed a united society; however, this ethnically "pure" society is bitterly divided on ideological grounds, with one part leaning toward the USSR and mainland China and the other toward Japan and the United States.

A third factor stems from Korea's lack of an ideology appropriate to participation in the contemporary world. Buddhism and Confucianism have long been important in Korean culture, with the latter substantially the more influential. The legacies of Confucianism include a strong hierarchical structure in society and an emphasis on conformity and obedience in thought and behavior. Such a basic cultural tradition runs counter to the democratic ethos, to participation in decision making, and to the concept that the individual at least shares some responsibility for his actions.

Thus Koreans experience powerful pressures to be an independent and distinctive group of people, yet their capacity to be so would seem severely handicapped by the political division that separates northerners from southerners and by the persistence of a cultural tradition that is antithetical to major trends in contemporary societies.

In part, these conditions explain the tremendous efforts in South Korea to develop as a nation. During the past two-and-a-half decades emphasis has been placed on economic development, reflecting the widely shared assumption that economic development is basic to other forms of development. However, as is the case in so many societies, this emphasis has resulted in considerable development at the top and widespread poverty at the lower levels of society.

The Educational Setting

(Since the balance of this chapter is based on the author's field work in South Korea during 1972-1973, it is written as a personal narrative.)

The Schools

The school system in South Korea in the early 1970s consisted of a six-year elementary, three-year middle, and a three-year senior high school structure. Schooling was compulsory for six years. Children in grade 1 attended school for six hours daily except on Saturday, when attendance was for four hours. The elementary curriculum was comprehensive, including studies in Korean language, social studies, natural science, mathematics, moral education, health education, crafts, art, and music. Some senior elementary-grade children also studied domestic and agricultural sciences. In secondary schools, subjects were more specialized--for example, history and geography were added to social studies and moral education. English, the first foreign language taught, began in the middle school, and Japanese had recently been accepted as a foreign language to be taught in schools.

Entry to middle school had recently become open, with dramatic consequences for some schools. One principal produced tables showing that students entering in 1971 had a mean IQ of 108, while those entering in 1972 had a mean of 92.7--comparable to the means for other schools. Correspondingly, performance and other patterns were expected to change substantially in subsequent years.

Entry to senior high schools was by selective examination, with keen competition between students for selection and pervasive results on the operation and functioning of the middle school. Testing procedures between provinces showed some variations. I was given to understand that the Seoul Board of Education maintained a bank of test items in each subject and that these were made available for individual schools to use in preparing their own tests. In one rural province, the provincial board tested children from all schools, which then selected applicants from the test results. Children who failed to gain entry to schools of their choice could then sit for the examinations set by individual schools which had places to spare.

Entry to tertiary education was also determined by selective examination, conducted in this case by the Ministry of Education. The process here appeared to be complex, with considerable attention given to ensuring security of the examination papers and fairness in the assessment process. Here, again, the competition to succeed was very keen, with pervasive effects on the senior high school and in turn on the middle schools, where children, encouraged (or pushed) by their parents, were seeking to do well in order to get into the better senior high schools. So, whereas attendance at elementary and middle schools was essentially on a district basis, attendance at senior high schools was essentially determined by merit; therefore, some elite schools drew from wide geographical areas. In some cases the merit ordering was carried over into the school, with children being assigned to classes in homogeneous groups on the basis of their performance on the entrance examinations.

The reputations of schools in terms of the entry of graduates to tertiary institutions seemed invariably linked to socioeconomic factors. "One of the best senior high schools in Seoul" drew nearly all of its students from middle- to upper-class business and professional families. At that time it was estimated that 70 percent of the graduates of that school went on to first-level tertiary institutions and some 25 percent went on to second- and third-level institutions. Similarly, in a provincial senior high school it was estimated that 70 percent of the students came from the families of government officials; and 90 percent went on to universities and colleges, mostly in Seoul. The tendency to choose colleges in the capital appeared to be attributable partly to the presence in Seoul of better-quality tertiary institutions and partly to the importance in regard to one's work and career, and possibly marriage, of class and school contacts, which were perceived by many people as being next in importance to family connections in influencing events in one's life. Individuals from rural families who had been educated in rural institutions often encountered severe hardship in the struggle to obtain employment appropriate to the level and type of qualifications that they had obtained.

School Administration

The degree to which control of Korean education was centralized was striking. This was evident in respect to staffing policies, curriculum and textbook preparation, the examination process, admission to secondary and tertiary institutions, and the degree of responsibility and authority that could be exercised at provincial board and school levels. This kind of centralization was also consistent with general practices of the national government in relation to local government and other aspects of life in Korea, in which provincial governors were appointed (and dismissed) by the national president and there was virtually no representative local government.

In education, provincial boards were appointed by the national government through the Ministry of Education. While these boards in turn made appointments, some--for example, those of secondary school principals--were still finally approved by the minister of education. Some people had the impression, right or wrong, that the minister was involved in college and university appointments. In general, I was continually surprised at the level and extent of detail in educational administration at which the minister and sometimes the president were seen to be involved or influential.

Apart from points of direct intervention, centrally devised policies governed a good deal of school functioning. The curricula for schools were worked out by the ministry. Elementary and secondary school curriculum committees were responsible to a Central Curriculum Board made up of academics, teachers, parents, and some lay members. Curriculum guidelines flowed from the ministry to determine the character of textbooks and other aspects of the program. Textbook writers were given guidelines initially; subsequently, their drafts were examined by ministry officials and academic experts for accuracy and, I understand, conformance to policy. The program was further set for the teacher through the operation of the examination process, along with pressures created by parent and student expectations. The centralized nature of policy and decision making and implementation was evident in observations made on a number of occasions. From many sources came such comments as "The government is very powerful," "The ministry is very kind--they make all the decisions for me," and "The ministry is very centralized."

The Social Studies

I visited only eight schools, but it was possible to gain impressions about many others from talking with people I met in a wide variety of situations or seeing students moving through the streets of Seoul or provincial centers or along the paths between the rice fields either going to or coming from school.

One first impression was of uniformity in dress: shorts or trousers and shirts for boys (who had close-cropped hair, particularly at the secondary-school level), and simple tunics for girls. The impression of uniformity of dress, appearance, and behavior was reinforced by the degree to which physical activities were closely directed and coordinated--exercises and marching in particular.

Buildings, too, were uniformly designed, with classrooms lined up end to end several stories high in tiers side by side. Those schools that I visited were well appointed and constructed, but I was invariably taken to schools serving middle and upper socioeconomic groups. Some schools observed from the footpath or the roadside, either in Seoul or in the provinces, were not so impressive or attractive and seemed less adequate in terms of facilities; however, these were no less uniform in basic design. Variations between schools appeared to be related to the socioeconomic background of the students.

Inside the schools, I saw no class with fewer than 55 students, even in the most-prestigious schools or at the most-senior form levels. In teacher-training primary schools, as many as ten student teachers were seated across the back of the room, observing the teacher and the class at work. Most classes had more than 60 students. Classroom seating was by pairs in rows facing the teacher and the front of the room. The teachers invariably lectured, although small-group discussions were employed for short periods of time in some primary schools. The teacher instructed and wrote notes on the blackboard, which students then copied into notebooks; textbooks, atlases or other appropriate books were also open on their desks. Responses from children were often in unison; thus, virtually no opportunity was provided to test or assess the knowledge or understanding of individual students. Although there was no evidence of concern for individual comprehension of or reaction to the material, this did not mean that there was an absence of concern about individual children. In some schools, teachers' responsibilities included counseling families on matters involving their children.

At least some schools emphasized the concept of basic knowledge, in terms of the key points to be gained from a lesson. Teachers stressed these points during the lesson, in remediation, and in testing. This concept appeared to have critical significance as an idea concerning what education was seen to be about.

Because my interest was primarily in the social science/social studies domain, I was invariably taken to visit social studies classes in elementary schools and history, geography, social studies, civics, or moral education classes in secondary schools. The history and geography lessons included topics from Korea and the world, depending on the grade level; the lessons that I observed in the other subjects included material from economics, family life, and politics. The lesson on family life discussed the responsibilities of parents and children and principles related to how they should behave--in other words, their proper roles. One fascinating (and, for me, informative) lesson was on anticommunism. After a short lecture on Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the lesson moved to the examination of slides showing aspects of life first in a democracy and then in a communist society. The slides depicted voting, shopping, reading, creativity, marriage, family life, communication, and religious activity. The distinction between the two ways of life was presented as the contrast between the options and choices available to those living in a democracy and the direction and supervision that prevailed under communism. Ironically, free choice was not much in evidence in schools in South Korea, nor were comparisons made of schooling in the slides.

This general comparison between two forms of government was made more explicit in one school, where a display of maps, photographs, and other material included a series on the Korean War. These showed the changing battle lines, the general history of the war and examples of the mode of fighting, including atrocities committed by North Koreans. In response to my questions about whether such presentations engendered or perpetuated bad feelings between Korean peoples, it was explained that this effort was designed to counter the propaganda emanating from the North Koreans and would be stopped when the latter modified their indoctrination programs.

Somewhat different in character were the methods in two primary schools that I visited. In one, a social studies teacher in a third-grade class showed a series of slides on Seoul, after which the class was asked to identify some problems in Seoul and discuss possible solutions. The problems identified included water supply, housing, pollution, and garbage disposal. In the same school, the principal stated that his policy was to encourage the teaching staff to employ modern methods that encouraged thinking and creativity rather than remembering. In another primary school, the teacher called children one at a time to the front of the room to talk about a picture. Children's art work was extensively displayed on the walls of this classroom. In some other classes in the same school, activity and individuality were evident in the work being done, particularly in crafts.

Interpretation and Comment

The basic character of the process of social education was represented by the transmission of a single set of "facts" to all children. Uniformity of content was accompanied by uniformity of dress, appearance, and behavior, with standards handed down from above and ultimately in accordance with national government policies. To some extent, it can be argued, uniformity was the result of the imbalance between the high educational aspirations of parents and children and the shortage of places in senior high and tertiary institutions, and the consequent need for selectivity in admission. Other factors--the traditional departmental structures in universities and teacher-training institutions, the traditional perceptions of the roles of teacher and student, the large classes, and the limited teaching resources--also helped to explain the situation. However, these factors did not explain the uniformity of dress and hair styles, the limited authority of school administrators at the provincial and school levels, nor the emphasis on efficiency at the expense of educational objectives in plans to reorganize Korean education.

On several occasions I asked specifically about educational objectives. One response that was offered again and again was focused on the development of a sense of Korean national identity. In seeking to clarify what was meant by this, I was invariably led into a discussion of Korean history and to a justification of the teaching of Korean history. Given the interest of some educators in behavioral objectives, I asked what "national identity" meant in terms of the characteristics of the individual Korean. Although few seemed to have given thought to this question, the answers I received were remarkably in agreement, citing such adjectives as *pragmatic*, *resourceful*, *self-reliant*, and *independent*. Curiously, it was difficult to find evidence that the schooling process encouraged the development of these qualities. The dependence on lecturing, the reliance on textbooks, the preoccupation of examinations with facts--all these strategies stressed memorization rather than thought, initiative, creativity, or resourcefulness. Possibly the "hidden curriculum," arising from such factors as the intense competition to enter a good institution at the next level of education, tended to encourage resourcefulness and initiative.

In general, I formed the impression that much of the structure and process of education in South Korea functioned to stultify the development of individual administrators, teachers, and students. There was little opportunity for participating creatively, imaginatively, or responsibly in the educational process or in developing the educational system. In turn, the educational system offered little opportunity for individual students to behave in these ways or to experience concern, involvement, and responsibility. Many people were in effect excluded from taking part in the development of Korean society or in the shaping of their individual lives. A few people had much power, and they may have made good decisions, but many others had little or no power and were thereby limited in opportunity. Such a situation can have serious consequences for the development of people in any society. Lack of involvement and a sense of participation too-readily generates a sense of exclusion and even of alienation. It seems to me that Korea needs an educational system and a learning process that inculcates the conviction that people have a real part to play in the shaping of their lives and in the building of a modern Korean society.

18. Social Studies in the Soviet Union

The Promotion of "Correct Thought"

By Raymond McHugh

Raymond McHugh received an Ed.D. from Stanford University in social studies education and has taught at California State University--Northridge since 1963. He has written a number of social studies articles and booklets, served as editor of the California Social Studies Review, *and was coauthor of* Quest for Liberty, *an eighth-grade U.S. history text. During 1973-1974 McHugh traveled in Europe and lived for some months in England, where he did postgraduate work at the University of London. While on the continent, he visited secondary schools in Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Spain, and the Soviet Union to see how schools were training students in world understanding.*

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Since the beginning of communist rule, Soviet leaders have aimed at building a new society, and they have used the educational system as a foremost means of achieving that goal. They have employed the full force of education in an effort to change the course of history and the nature of man. Education is seen as the central system not only for producing scientists, engineers, and technicians but also for creating the "new Soviet citizen." The success of the five-year plans has depended on increasing educational resources and expanding the intelligentsia as well as on training manpower and exploiting economic resources. The building of a Soviet society has also demanded indoctrination in communist ideas. The schools were employed, first, to teach loyalty to the regime and, second, to ensure a literate population.

The drive toward industrialization in the USSR was accompanied by heroic efforts to expand and improve the school system at all levels. Today, in spite of original handicaps and the devastation of World War II, the educational system has accomplished much. There has been a spectacular rise in quality from nurseries through higher education. Literacy is now virtually universal, and the Soviet Union appears to be using the momentum acquired to press on toward providing even-more-adequate education for all.

Under communism, the highest authorities in the nation have paid close attention to the programs of the schools and other educational agencies. Lenin was the first to regard education as an indispensable instrument for the achievement of communist purposes at home and abroad. His remarks on the importance of education are quoted profusely: "Without teaching there is no knowledge, and without knowledge there is no communism." "The school apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie and a hypocrisy."[1] Lenin's words, "Study, study, study," are posted on classroom walls throughout the Soviet Union.

During the 1920s there was a wave of experimentation in Soviet education. John Dewey's activity and project methods, the Dalton assignment plan, and other progressive educational techniques were tried in the new Soviet schools. History as a separate discipline disappeared almost completely from the curriculum as concepts were taught in an interdisciplinary manner. But not for long. The urgent needs of the national economy, the constant call for efficiency, and the general tightening up on society at large brought a reaction.

In the 1930s, Stalin swept away what he referred to as "irresponsible experiments" in the schools. Many features of prerevolutionary schooling were reintroduced, among them strict content examinations, uniform teaching methods, separation of subjects, and tight classroom discipline according to the German model. (Stalin supposedly obtained the heart of the Soviet curriculum from the classical German *gymnasium.)* Traditional European schooling was applied on a mass scale and geared to the political needs of the communist state. By World War II, literacy had risen to 80 percent and schools were producing specialists and skilled personnel in large numbers. By the time of the Khrushchev reforms in technical education in 1958, most students were completing seven years of schooling; some finished ten.

In the middle 1960s, with the arrival of Brezhnev, changing demands on schools and the arrival of universal secondary education led to the first comprehensive curricular reform since the early 1930s. In 1964 a joint commission of more than 500 leading educators began to develop new school programs; this effort culminated in a final decree by the 23rd Congress in 1966. The process of updating the curricula continues into the present, according to Soviet educators.

Soviet Education Today

Most urban students attend school for ten years, beginning at age 7. All ten grades are usually housed in the same building, with a general 3-5-2 curriculum. In the three primary grades, the heaviest emphasis is placed on learning to do arithmetic and to read, write, and speak Russian properly. In the five grades of middle school, the dominance of math and science over the humanities and social studies becomes firmly established. In the final two years of secondary school, which are vital to students who hope to go on to college, the curriculum is even more heavily weighted in favor of science.

Most urban students remain in regular schools in grades 9 and 10, but a few transfer to technical schools. There are also special schools in the larger cities for students who are talented in foreign languages, math, or science. There are only a few of these schools, and places in them are avidly sought because most of their graduates go on to college.

Children go to school six days a week for five hours a day from September through May, with short holiday periods. Discipline and student-teacher relations most clearly follow those of a military or strict parochial school in the United States. There is no attempt to segregate students by ability. Every class accordingly is expected to include a broad cross-section of students, from the slow to the swift, all doing the same work at the same pace.

Teaching techniques tend to be formal and old-fashioned: rote recitation, drill, memory work, lectures followed by questioning to test whether the prescribed content was mastered. The job of the teacher is to instruct the pupils; the student's role is passive--to accept and absorb. Class atmosphere is rigidly organized by U.S. standards, and lessons leave little room for spontaneity, activity, or discussion. There is little use of such supplementary activities as games, labs, or supplementary book corners. However, many teachers temper formality with friendliness, and most teacher-pupil relations seem orderly but not cold.

Education in the Soviet Union is centrally planned, directed, and controlled; all schools are established, approved, and run by the state. The central government prescribes standard aims, textbooks, curricula, and methods of instruction from preschool through the university. (The standard curriculum is shown in Table 18a.[2]) Local educational officials implement decisions of the ministries of education of the USSR and the Communist party by following detailed instructions. With only minor exceptions, eighth-grade students in places as far apart as Moscow and Murmansk wear the same uniforms, conform to the same rules of behavior, study the same subjects from the same textbooks at the same rate, and take the same exams. At 15, when most Soviet students complete their basic education, their alternatives for further education are roughly the same wherever they may be.

Each course has a syllabus that outlines the material to be covered and reading assignments to be completed; from grade 7 on, students may take from two to six hours of electives beyond the regular required courses. The ministries of education of the separate republics are authorized to make changes in response to local conditions. Regional variations exist primarily in the teaching of language, culture, and vocational orientation--usually in the elective courses.

Universal ten-year education, a prominent national goal, is a reality only in large cities, not in small towns and rural areas. There is great disparity between the education provided by poor, rural schools and that offered by city schools, especially in regard to the quality of principals and teaching staffs.

Soviet authorities openly declare the political aims of their educational system. Education must be political in nature, they say, in order that citizens can be trained to transform the country from socialism to communism. The Central Committee of the Communist party in 1958 emphasized the development of correct attitudes in the following policy statement:

> Upbringing must inculcate in the schoolchildren a love of knowledge and of work, and respect for people who work; it must shape the communist world outlook of pupils and rear them in the spirit of communist morality and of boundless loyalty to the country and the people and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.[3]

In the early years of school, student reading books contain countless stories about heroes of the Revolution. In the middle and upper grades, political content increases. Especially in social studies classes, schools make an intense effort to instill the official point of view on a wide variety of political and historical issues. However, political conditioning in Soviet schools in the 1970s is not nearly so crude as it was under Stalin. Political education now focuses on developing loyalty to the economic and social system rather than to

Table 18a

THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN THE USSR

Subject	Number of hours per week by grade										Total number of hours per week
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1. Russian grammar	12	10	10	6	6	3	3	2	2/0	--	53
2. Literature	—	--	--	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	18
3. Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	58
4. History	--	--	--	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	18
5. Social sciences	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
6. Nature study	--	2	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	6
7. Geography	--	--	--	--	2	3	2	2	2	2	11
8. Biology	--	--	--	--	2	2	2	2	0/2	2	11
9. Physics	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	3	4	5	16
10. Astronomy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
11. Mechanical drawing	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	--	3
12. Chemistry	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	3	3	10
13. Foreign language	--	--	--	--	4	3	3	2	2	2	16
14. Art	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	6
15. Singing and music appreciation	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	7
16. Physical training	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
17. Shop	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
Total hours of compulsory subjects per week	24	24	24	24	30	30	30	30	30	30	276
18. Free-choice extracurricular subjects	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	4	6	6	--

political leaders. Today, inculcating the general values of Soviet society--group loyalty, respect for authority, and conformity--is a key goal of the work of the schools.

Goals, Trends, and Content in the Social Studies

More so than in any other subject area, communist ideology saturates the courses of study, textbooks, lectures, and teacher manuals of social studies courses. The primary goal of the social studies is to promote "correct thought." Major themes in social studies instruction are the materialistic nature of the universe, scientific laws of social development, the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Great October Revolution, the struggle of the Communist party, the "Great Patriotic War" (World War II), oppression of labor and warmongering in capitalist countries, freedom and plenty for Soviet peoples, and the ultimate triumph of communism in the world. No small order.

In Soviet education, the subject of history is anything but an autonomous academic discipline; it is completely politicized as the "party science." M.A. Zinoviev expressed the official view that "history is a powerful weapon of communist education, and it must wholly serve the cause of the struggle for communism."[4] In 1956, Khrushchev said: "Historians are dangerous people. They are capable of upsetting everything. They must be directed."[5] Accordingly, history writing and teaching are closely supervised in the USSR. The goal of historical research is to prove a preconceived pattern of history--that of economic development, which is cited as the single force in interpreting the past, as opposed to multicausation. Deviation from this view is considered a serious matter.[6]

There are two official journals for teachers of social studies, *Prepodavanie istorii v shkole* (Teaching history in the school) and *Geografiia v shkole* (School geography). The history journal is a bimonthly written for teachers interested in the teaching of history and other social studies subjects. *Soviet Education*, the U.S. journal that translates articles from the Soviet educational press, monitors these and other publications.[7]

The uniform curriculum of required social studies courses in the elementary and secondary schools consists of history, geography, and social science. History is taught from grades 4 through 10, geography is taught in grades 5 through 9, and social science is a capstone course in grade 10. The Ministry of Education describes these courses in the following manner:

Required Social Studies Courses

Grade 4 (2 hours)	Episodes in the history of the Soviet Union (simplified history)
Grade 5 (2 hours)	Ancient history
(2 hours)	Elementary course in physical geography and map reading
Grade 6 (2 hours)	Medieval history (through the Middle Ages)

	(3 hours)	Geography of continents and principal countries, facts about natural features and population
Grade 7	(2 hours)	History of the USSR (from prehistory to late 18th century)
	(2 hours)	Geography (same as Grade 6)
Grade 8	(3 hours)	History of the USSR (late 18th century to late 19th century) and modern history (to the 1870s), both taught in "organic relationship"
	(2 hours)	Economic geography: natural features, population, administrative divisions, and national economy of the USSR
Grade 9	(4 hours)	Systematic history of the USSR (20th century to victory of socialism) and contemporary history of other countries (World War I through World War II)
	(2 hours)	Economic geography of foreign countries
Grade 10	(3 hours)	History of the USSR (completion of building of socialist society and building of communism) and contemporary world history
	(2 hours)	Social science: fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political and civic attitudes, socialist planning, social activism
Grade 11		In various republics, history of each republic is studied as a separate subject or in relation to the history of the USSR, generally adding a year of schooling.[8]

The Soviet curriculum of social studies took shape along with other reforms instituted by Stalin in the 1930s; further reforms in 1965 incorporated more study of "historical processes," revised texts, and made history courses less repetitive and more systematic. The course in social science for the tenth grade was added in the 1962-1963 school year, under Khrushchev's influence, as a capstone course in political indoctrination.[9]

History. History in the curriculum plays a central role in inculcating a Marxist-Leninist belief system. Soviet professionals say:

> The formation of an idea about the historical process, that is, about the natural movement of a society toward the highest social-economic structure, and the development of a deep conviction in the victory of communism in the entire world can be accomplished by means of the study not of individual historical periods but of the

> whole course of history from ancient times to the present. The content of history education in the school is arranged accordingly.[10]

In the first three grades, history is introduced gradually in connection with reading. Children hear about revolutionary holidays; they are told about the lives of peasants and workers in prerevolutionary Russia, the struggle of the working class, and about "Uncle" Lenin. In grade 3 children learn of the struggles against foreign oppressors, the establishment of the Soviet government, and the construction of factories and collective farms.

History begins as an independent subject in grade 4 and continues every year in a linear sequence through grade 10. Children are given a brief chronological survey of Russian, Soviet, and world history, illustrated by stories relating to social class, communist leaders, and the growth of agriculture and industry under the Soviets.

In the grade 5 world history course, students learn about prehistory, through the ancient Orient and Egypt up to Rome. Grade 6 continues the world history story through the Middle Ages to the English revolution, adding concepts related to social structure.

A systematic course in the history of the USSR up to 1800 begins in grade 7. In grade 8 the USSR course is continued to 1900, and the modern history is brought up to the 1870s. Grade 9 develops the USSR record from World War I to World War II along with world history for the same era. Grade 10 completes the coverage of the USSR in contemporary times together with contemporary world history.

Throughout all these courses there is a concentration on social, political, and economic events that provide a natural media for presenting historical materialism--the central tenet of Marxist-Leninist historical theory. Variations on this theme include the progressive development of human society and the inevitable decay of the old society. Syllabi are quite specific about coverage. For example, in the ninth-grade course on the history of the USSR, ten hours are specifically allotted to the topic "The Revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia--the First People's Revolution in the Imperial Era."[11]

Different points of view are never mentioned, and to many observers this is one of the most dismal aspects of Soviet education. Religion, of course, is not dealt with objectively as a factor in cultural history, and other large chunks of the past are likewise removed from study. In teaching about World War II, no mention is made of Hitler's efforts at genocide directed at the Jews. The role of the United States in the war is also ignored. In essence, Soviet social studies simply do not acknowledge the existence of contradictory sources of information.

Yet recently there has been widespread discussion of the need for history teachers to stimulate pupils' reasoning and to promote the study of "historical processes." The reforms in history teaching of 1965, which were claimed to have been completely implemented by 1973, called for an improvement in pupils' "analysis, generalization, comparison of history facts, proof of conclusions and evaluations, [and] definition of historical concepts." Texts must devote enough time "to the development of pupils' historical reasoning and independent intellectual skills." Brezhnev himself, at the 25th Party Congress in 1976, stated:

> Under present conditions, at a time when the volume of information a person needs is growing sharply and rapidly, it is no longer possible to count primarily on the assimilation of a certain body of facts. It is important to instill people with the ability to augment their knowledge on their own and find their way in the headlong flow of scientific and political information.[12]

Soviet educators report that a "problem-oriented approach" to the study of social studies is becoming widespread. They claim that new texts have been designed to make the teaching process more active and that methods are being promoted to develop students' ability to gain knowledge independently because of the colossal growth of information. Because youth obtain a "reserve" of information about political and social life from the press, television, radio, and films, "Soviet pedagogical science" believes it is important to train youth in the ability to discern from a mass of facts those most important, thereby developing their cognitive abilities as well as inculcating a communist conviction.[13] Observers are reminded of the parallel interest in new history teaching methods in the United States in the 1960s, which argued for much more attention to historical methodology and process as well as content.

Geography. In geography classes, the chief aim is to give students an understanding of how natural phenomena influence industry and agriculture and how man can manage geography for his own benefit, according to Marxist-Leninist teachings. In early years, young readers take excursions and are introduced to background knowledge related to weather and the solar system. Formal instruction begins in grade 5 and continues through grade 9. In grades 5 through 7 physical geography is studied; in grades 8 and 9 economic geography.

Grades 5 to 7 cover a basic survey of the planet and universe. Then follows study of the geography of the USSR: rivers, lakes, land forms. Next, the Soviet people and the country's natural resources are covered. (Only in the USSR have natural resources been properly developed, students are told.) The syllabi then move to the physical and political geography of the world. The eighth-grade program concentrates on the economic geography of the USSR, grade 9 on that of foreign countries.

Social science. The terms *social studies* and *social science* seem to be used interchangeably in translations of Soviet literature. In this chapter, the term *social studies* is used as a blanket rubric to describe a curriculum which includes history, geography, and the social science course. *Social science* refers specifically to the tenth-grade capstone course--the last grade of Soviet secondary schooling. The aim of this course is to introduce the most mature students to theoretical questions of communism. It serves as a summary course for instruction in social science by helping students complete "the formation of their scientific world view, their ideological-political preparation."[14]

216

Youth Organizations and the Social Studies

The Soviet aim of teaching students collective responsibility and group conformity begins in kindergarten and is developed through the school years both in the classroom and in a series of young people's organizations--the Octobrists for grades 1-3, the Young Pioneers for grades 4-8, and the Komsomol for students age 15 and over. Youth organizations play an important role in providing social and political education for social activism.

Membership in the Octobrists and Pioneers is virtually automatic. These organizations might be described as more-serious versions of the Boy and Girl Scouts. The Pioneers have branches in every school and also function after school hours. Fostering the right spirit is one of their essential purposes--both in communist ideology and doing one's best in and out of the classroom. Using exclusion from the Pioneers as punishment greatly simplifies school discipline problems, because a non-pioneer misses a lot of fun--special privileges, films, camps, hikes, and visits to factories and farms.

Members of the Komsomol participate in a wide variety of activities: lectures, discussion groups, garden work, sports activities, hobbies and crafts, summer camps, and farm work. They also provide some supervision to the Pioneers. History teachers are singled out by Soviet educators as having a special role in the success of a school's Komsomol organization. Secondary historians are urged to work with, support, and offer leadership to this important arm in the building of socialism. They can help encourage students to read the daily press, to work cooperatively, and to engage in socially useful tasks.[15]

Directives and Decrees for Teaching Social Studies

The basic structure of history teaching in Soviet schools conforms to a decree issued by the USSR Central Committee of the Communist party on May 16, 1934, entitled "On the Teaching of Civil History in the Schools of the USSR." New goals and methods for history courses were formulated by the Central Committee in October 1959 via the decree "On Certain Changes in the Teaching of History in the Schools." Guidelines were stipulated for the creation of new textbooks under the Khrushchev regime at that time. These documents and others stressed the need to give youth a scientific understanding of the development of society and "to show them, in sequence, the role of the popular masses as the true makers of history." The reorganization of history courses was undertaken to give more attention to the history of Asian countries as well as increased coverage of "proletarian internationalism."[16]

In 1964, the Soviet Union undertook sweeping curriculum changes much like those that U.S. schools had experienced a few years earlier. The Central Committee decree of May 14, 1965, "On Changes in the Procedure for Teaching History in the Schools," called for the elimination of chronological repetition of history courses and a more-systematic and detailed coverage, year by year, as well as attention to historical processes as described above.[17]

A series of anniversaries in the early 1970s also led to new directives and syllabi. Of greatest importance was the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, followed by the 150th anniversary of the birth of Marx and Engels and the centennial of the birth of Lenin. An all-union conference for "Heads of History and Social Studies Rooms of Advanced Training Institutes for Teachers" was held to prepare plans for the schools to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Republic, celebrated in 1972.[18]

To the communist world, educational problems related to rearing history students "in the spirit of Marxist ideology and international friendship" led to a series of meetings between educators of the Soviet-dominated countries. In 1965, "pedagogues" from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) took the initiative and organized an "International Symposium on the Teaching of History in the School," held in Berlin. Since this, similar seminars have been held annually with the leading history educators from GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.[19]

Generally, two problems are posed for discussion: (1) general theoretical and methodological questions in the teaching of history in the schools and (2) particular methods. In Berlin the group examined "Problems in the Development of the Historical Thought of Schoolchildren." In 1969, in Budapest, the topics included "Graphics in the Teaching of History."

Trends in the Social Studies

In the early 1970s, there was much emphasis on how social studies teachers could carry out the decrees of the party. Plans for electives were discussed, but only as topics to be studied within the required history courses. One such elective was "Principles of Soviet Legislation." In economic geography, electives included "Economics of the Most Important Branches of the USSR National Economy." Other writers worried that the linear treatment of history caused students to be "insufficiently informed on the important facts and phenomena of modern times." Accordingly, plans were mounted to introduce a special subject, "Soviet Society," in the eighth grade which would cover the basics of Soviet government and the rights and responsibilities of citizens.[20]

Critics of history teaching continued to recommend better practices. In a forthright article, "The Pupil's Interest in History Is the Index of the Teacher's Skill," A.I. Nersesova offered a collection of ideas for improved history teaching which might well have appeared in the U.S. journal *Social Education*. The most important idea was colorful narration, along with A/V aids, good cognitive student drawings, use of the chalkboard, and the reading of excerpts from fiction and movies.[21]

Throughout the 1970s, history classes, schools, and youth groups were urged to make continuing efforts to revive memories of World War II. Concern was growing that the current generation had no awareness of the fighting and bloodshed of the "Great Patriotic War" which had cost the Soviet Union 20 million lives. Many schools conducted observances, and students visited battlegrounds and tape recorded the reminiscences of veterans.[22]

The later curriculum work of the 1970s reflected a new emphasis on independence which seemed to come into conflict with the high value placed on conformity and "right answers." A main goal was to break away from rote learning and mechanical teaching. At least some educational reformers seemed to be aware that many students were bored with the heavy-handed ideological approach that marked the social studies.

Leonid Zankov, a senior member of the Academy of Sciences, in his book *Conversations With Teachers* supported the argument that students were ready for creative, analytical, and inductive teaching. Although he admitted the possibility that more-creative approaches in science and other subject would lead students to question the basic premises of politically sensitive subjects, he hoped that a skillful teacher could "encourage a questioning spirit which still leads to the right conclusions." Evidently more-experimental approaches were adopted in some schools, but the continued complaints of parents and educators about outmoded teaching seemed to indicate that the reforms did not amount to much.[23]

The Teaching of International Relations in the USSR

Detente and the Curriculum

Changing political pressures had resulted in a major overhaul of social studies texts after the death of Stalin, with the elimination of virtually all glorification of the long-time dictator. When Khrushchev was ousted, his role in turn was obscured, and Stalin regained some stature along with mild criticism. Despite an official Soviet policy of detente with the West which evolved in the 1970s, most observers think that improved relations with the United States and the West will have only a minimal impact on the Soviet version of history.[24]

Changes in social studies texts are discussed in generalities by Soviet educators, usually in terms of "updating," "refinements," or "further improvements." And, they say, it must not be forgotten in all textbook revision that "the most important thing is to teach pupils a deep understanding of Party policy and a correct assessment of historical events, from class and Party positions." Recently it was reported that the Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences had drafted a new syllabus for the tenth-grade social science course based on the opposing social and economic systems of the modern world, in an attempt to "reveal more deeply the basic advantages of the socialist order over the capitalist and the irreconcilability of communist and bourgeois ideologies."[25]

Global Education

Marxist-Leninist ideology forms the basis for the world outlook or world view that all Soviet citizens are expected to possess. In Soviet educational literature, it is assumed that instruction in all subjects, especially in the social studies, can and should "inculcate in the young generation a Marxist-Leninist world view."

Studies in foreign affairs and world cultures begin as elements in required courses in history, geography, and social science as well as in foreign language and literature. These topics are taught with a heavy ideological bias. Advanced research on foreign countries and people is carried out by various scientific research institutes of the USSR

Academy of Science in Moscow. These institutes also train graduate students.[26]

The international role of the USSR as a builder of world communism permeates the social studies curriculum. In the study of geography, for example, Soviet educators say that teachers should emphasize the successful economic and cultural development of the USSR for its immense international significance in the social progress of all mankind, especially for countries in the socialist system. The international indoctrination of schoolchildren begins with an understanding of the common features of all the peoples of the various republics of the Soviet Union. Indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist world views continues in all social studies courses through grade 10--where, in the culminating social science experience, students are expected to know "the historical forms of human society; nations and national relations; the Soviet socialist state; and the education of the new man." The course ends with a study of the leading "role of the Soviet Union in the international communist movement and the worldwide significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution."[27]

The fact that the use of social studies to create a distorted view of global affairs is repugnant to many Western educators is puzzling to the Soviets--who, understandably, believe in communist ideology and think that their children ought to be indoctrinated in it. (They argue, too, that the West does the same thing.) On the other hand, global education in the USSR is much more extensive than it is in the United States and Western Europe, and history teaching in particular is more international in character. Soviet textbooks cover much more about Asia, partly because so much of the Soviet Union lies in the East. Not only do Soviet texts give broader coverage to Near Eastern cultures than do Western texts, the former also say far more about Islam, India, and China. Western surveys of history seem to ignore much of the human race; in Soviet texts to do so would seem odd.

Since the 1960s, Soviet social studies educators have devoted even more space in textbooks to the history of other countries. More time is being spent on the "national liberation struggles of peoples against colonialism, and the establishment and consolidation of new, independent states in Asia and Africa." It is claimed that most syllabi have abandoned the practice of orienting history around Europe. And as new research and material becomes available, it is expected that the study of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will be expanded even further.[28]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18

1. Hedrick Smith, *The Russians* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1977), p. 196; Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education* (London: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 23.

2. Included in N.P. Kuzin et al., *Education in the USSR* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), p. 38.

3. Quoted in Grant, *Soviet Education*, p. 23.

4. M.A. Zinoviev, "Soviet Methods of Teaching History," in Marin Pundeff, ed., *History in the USSR: Selected Readings* (San Francisco:

Chandler, 1971), p. 165; see also pp. v-vii.

5. Khrushchev is quoted in Nancy Heer, *Politics and History in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1971), p. 11.

6. Anatole Mazour, *The Writing of History in the Soviet Union* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1971), pp. 360-64. See also N.H. Gaworek, "Education, Ideology, and Politics: History in Soviet Primary and Secondary Schools," *History Teacher* 11, no. 1 (November 1977), pp. 55-74.

7. For example, *Soviet Education* devoted its August 1973 issue to "The Teaching of Social Studies in Soviet Schools" and its February 1973 issue to "Geography Teaching in Soviet Schools." Both issues provided an "official" view of problems and trends in the social studies.

8. Kuzin, *Education in the USSR*, pp. 41-42; Rosen, *Education and Modernization*, p. 132; *Soviet Education*, April 1974, p. 47.

9. Fred Ablin, ed., *Education in the USSR*, vol. 2 (New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1963), p. 148; *Soviet Education* 16, no. 6 (April 1974), p. 47; *Soviet Education*, May 1977, pp. 39-41.

10. Charles D. Cary, "Patterns of Emphasis Upon Marxist-Leninist Ideology: A Computer Content Analysis of Soviet School History, Geography, and Social Science Textbooks," *Comparative Education Review* 20, no. 1 (February 1976), pp. 12-13.

11. *Soviet Education*, August 1973, p. 6.

12. Ibid., May 1977, pp. 75, 83.

13. Ibid., April 1974, pp. 54-55.

14. Cary, "Patterns of Emphasis," pp. 13-14.

15. *Soviet Education*, August 1973, p. 3.

16. Ablin, *Education in the USSR*, p. 146.

17. *Soviet Education*, May 1977, pp. 39-40, 76.

18. Ibid., August 1973, pp. 4-5; December 1974, p. 39.

19. Ibid., April 1974, pp. 55-56.

20. Ibid., pp. 51-53.

21. Ibid., August 1973, pp. 68-81.

22. Susan Jacoby, *Inside Soviet Schools* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), p. 184.

23. Ibid., pp. 180, 194; Smith, *The Russians*, pp. 223-24.

24. Jacoby, *Inside Soviet Schools*, pp. 186, 189-190.

25. *Soviet Education*, August 1973, pp. 6-7; December 1974, pp. 39, 43.

26. Seymour Rosen, "USSR and International Education: A Brief Overview," *Phi Delta Kappan* 51, no. 5 (January 1970), pp. 248-49.

27. Kuzin, *Education in the USSR*, p. 42; *Soviet Education*, August 1973, p. 9.

28. Ablin, *Education in the USSR*, pp. 149, 151, 153.

19. *Social Studies in Spain*

Education for Living Together

By Luis M. Villar

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* * * * * * *

Spain, which occupies some 327,250 square miles, is the third-largest country in Europe. The mainland of Spain resembles a rocky castle. Spain also has islands (the Canaries and the Balearics) and additional land in Africa (the sovereign enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla).

Spain is a multiform mosaic. Its variegated geographical pattern is reflected in marked differences of climate and scenery. Galicia, Catalonia, the Basque country, Andalucia, old and new Castile, the Canary Islands--all these regions vary in their colors, traditions, customs, folklore, and dialects. Castilian is the official language.[1] Besides Spanish, Catalan, Galician, and the Basque are other tongues.

In 1977 Spain had a population of more than 36 million people. This population is unevenly distributed, as a result of the varying landscape and economic factors. The Spaniard's per capita income was a little less than $3,000 in 1977, and the state expenditure in education represented only 2.4 percent of the gross national product. Although the government gave more funds to the Ministry of Education and Science than to any other department, the public expenditure in education was about $71 per inhabitant.[2]

There is religious freedom in Spain.[3] Almost 80 percent of the population is Catholic, although 27 percent do not practice Catholicism.[4]

Spain has been settled by people with a venerable cultural heritage. Three thousand years before Christ the Phoenicians founded Cadiz on the southern coast. Greeks, Romans, and Arabs left decisive marks upon Spanish art and culture. In 1492 the Catholic monarchs unified Spain, and foreign Austrian and Bourbon dynasties occupied the throne from the 16th century to the 20th century.

On July 18, 1936, after a three-year civil war, General Francisco Franco managed to establish a dictatorship that lasted until his death in 1975. Since then, Spain has been a monarchy under the leadership of King Juan Carlos of Bourbon.

The Spaniards held their first democratic political elections in June 15, 1977. Subsequently, the new *Cortes* (parliament) was put in charge of writing a constitution; this was approved by the political parties and by a national referendum in 1978.

One of the most controversial articles of the 1978 Constitution deals with education. The political parties had different points of view about the issue of educational freedom and about whether the Church and other private societies had the right to set up private schools.[5] As a result of the elections held on March 1, 1979, the Union de Centro Democratico (UCD) party won a majority of members in the Parliament. The UCD educational policy supported "freedom of teaching," which means that private schools were allowed to exist and to receive money from the administration.

The Educational Setting

In August 1970 the *Cortes* passed the General Education and Education Reform Financing Law, which is the basis of the current Spanish educational system. The structure of the old system ("Moyano Law") had been established in 1857.

The minister of education and science explained to the *Cortes* why the government wanted to modify the educational system. Among the reasons cited were the following: the inequality between rural and urban education; the lack of preschool institutions, especially in rural and working-class areas; the lack of primary school buildings; the problems caused by the existence of two parallel educational systems, private and public; the inadequacy of educational training for secondary school teachers; the high percentage of "free" students (those who did not attend regular classes in schools but took the final test); the high percentage of failures and dropouts (only 42.5 percent of the students who took the university entrance examination passed in 1965-1966); and the high pupil-teacher ratio.[6]

Article 1 of the General Education Law states the following educational goals:

> 1. Integral and harmonious human and personality development of the individual to prepare him to responsibly exercise his liberty inspired by a Christian approach to life and national traditions and culture; social development and formation of a community spirit; all in accordance with the principles of the national movement and laws of the land.
>
> 2. The development of work and study habits and professional training so the individual may contribute to the social, cultural, scientific, and economic development of the nation.
>
> 3. Integration of regional characteristics which enrich Spanish culture to foster a spirit of tolerance and international understandings.[7]

The law also established that basic general education would be compulsory and free for all Spaniards and that university education would be available to persons over 25 years old who, even without having graduated from high school, pass the examinations established by the regulations. Figure 19a shows the structure of the new educational system.

The Ministry of Education and Science not only exercises unrestricted supervisory, administrative, and executive powers but also carries out judicial and legislative functions. Thus, the Ministry of Education and Science determines the number and location of schools and the amount, allocation, and expenditures of funds.[8] In the 1977-1978 academic year, students were distributed among the various educational levels according to the following figures:[9]

Preschool education	1,008,796
Primary education	5,579,662
Professional training	407,812
Secondary education and COU	877,516

(Note: When students leave basic general education at the age of 14, they take an examination. If they pass, they go to high school; if they fail, they may go to either professional training or adult education. Professional training is for low achievers; its main goal is to equip students with skills that might enable them to find jobs. "COU" stands for a university-oriented or preparation course.)

During the 1976-1977 academic year, only one-third of the population between two and five years of age went to preschool centers, and more than half of these went to private centers. Of the total number of preschool education, basic general education, and special and adult education centers, 69.1 percent are run by the state, 9.5 percent are run by the Church, 19.7 percent are run by private enterprises, .7 percent are run by local administrations, and only 1 percent are run by other agencies. Of the children who finish basic general education, 17 percent do not go on to either high school or professional training.[10]

The Social Studies: An Overview

General Aims and Objectives

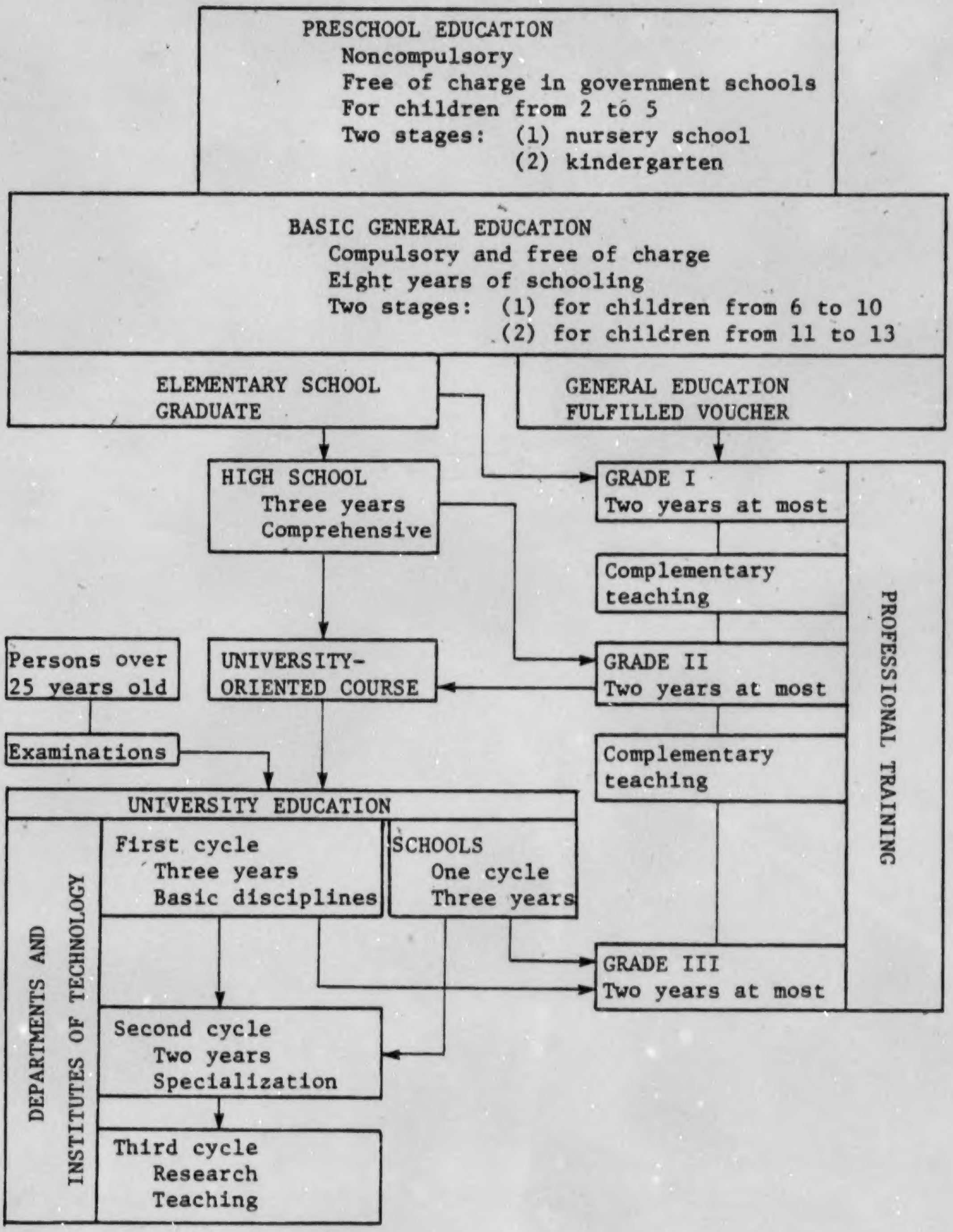
Social studies aims and objectives vary depending on the educational level. The main objective in preschool education is "the harmonic development of the child's personality." The specific objectives of moral and social formation are:

--To provide the child with an environment in which he may freely develop, respecting others' freedom and rights.
--To learn to cooperate, serve, and live with other children.
--To be responsible for his behavior.
--To know his country's symbols.
--To be familiar with basic traffic regulations.[12]

The belief seems to be that preschool objectives should emerge from experience. In other words, school is considered life, more than preparation for life.

Figure 19a

STRUCTURE OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM


PRESCHOOL EDUCATION
Noncompulsory
Free of charge in government schools
For children from 2 to 5
Two stages: (1) nursery school
(2) kindergarten
BASIC GENERAL EDUCATION
Compulsory and free of charge
Eight years of schooling
Two stages: (1) for children from 6 to 10
(2) for children from 11 to 13
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GRADUATE
GENERAL EDUCATION FULFILLED VOUCHER
HIGH SCHOOL
Three years
Comprehensive
GRADE I
Two years at most
Complementary teaching
PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
Persons over 25 years old
UNIVERSITY-ORIENTED COURSE
GRADE II
Two years at most
Examinations
Complementary teaching
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
First cycle
Three years
Basic disciplines
SCHOOLS
One cycle
Three years
DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTES OF TECHNOLOGY
GRADE III
Two years at most
Second cycle
Two years
Specialization
Third cycle
Research
Teaching

226

The goal of the social studies in elementary education is "to develop and use the student's study habits; imagination; capacity for observation, induction and deduction; religious-moral habits and ideas; ability to get along with others; sense of belonging to a local, national, and international community; artistic expression and appreciation; high level of social-civic consciousness; and physical sportsmanship capabilities."[13] These aims are considered values, rather than specific directives for teaching.

The prime objective of the social studies in basic general education is to develop understanding and comprehension of present and future world social realities and the social relationships and interactions of human life. The general goals for the high school curriculum are balanced, emphasizing the well-rounded pupil--the pupil who is developed physically, morally, intellectually, spiritually, and aesthetically. The following student objectives were developed specifically for the social studies:

--To acquire a profound knowledge of man and society from the past to the present.

--To develop habits that will permit an understanding of the culture of the society in which they live.

--To receive training in civic and social activities and responsibilities.

--To understand people in other countries.

The general goals of university education can be applied to a certain extent to social studies. The following objectives are stated in the General Education Law:

> --To complete the personal development of youth, prepare professionals whom the country needs, and improve and perfect the practice of professions.
>
> --To foster cultural progress, develop research at all levels, and train scientists and educators.
>
> --To contribute to improving the national educational system as well as the social and economic development of the nation.[14]

Course Offerings

For three-year-old children, social education is focused on social behavior and adaptation to the environment. There are seven goal areas for four- and five-year-old children. The moral and social formation area includes such activities as sharing things with others, working in teams, playing traffic games, and interacting with classmates and adults. In October 1977 the Ministry of Education issued a document describing the goals and content of a new educational cycle called "preparatory," intended for five- to seven-year-old children. This cycle was designed to coordinate the planning, evaluation, and promotion of preschool education with the two first grades of basic general education. Teaching content was divided into four areas: mathematics, language, artistic and dynamic expression, and socioaffective behavior.

In the first grade, students are expected to develop an understanding of school, family, neighborhood, and country. Social education in the second grade is focused on the study of people, housing, great inventions, and the relationships between people and their natural environment. Third-grade students learn about how people lived in the past and how they make their livings today--working as farmers, fishermen, miners, etc. Concepts of physical geography are introduced in the fourth grade. Geography and history are combined at the fifth-grade level. The purpose of the units is to learn not only about Spain but also about universal ideas. Concepts are drawn from art history, literature, world history, religion, and civic education via an interdisciplinary approach.

Sixth-graders are taught three units: General Geography, Spanish Geography, and Foundations of the Spanish and European Societies. In the seventh grade, pupils learn about continents and the expansion of Western civilization from the Renaissance to European industrialization. Units in the eighth grade are devoted to studying European civilization and the contemporary world, other world cultures, and Spain in the contemporary world.

A ministerial order issued on June 30, 1977, established an experimental social education program. The results of this program were used as the basis for formulating new guidelines for the social studies in October 1978. These guidelines are now being implemented in all centers for basic general education.[15] The objectives identified for the new social studies curriculum called for students to acquire the following skills and attitudes:

1. Readiness to exercise the rights and duties of a citizen on the basis of respect for democratic liberties and fundamental human rights.
2. The basic knowledge, moral criteria, and elements of judgment indispensable for effectively solving personal, social, economic, and political problems.
3. Attitudes of respect, generosity, and fellowship toward interpersonal relations.
4. Attitudes of respect, comprehension, and acceptance toward sociocultural realities in Spain and the international community.
5. The critical judgment necessary for interpreting the values of society and defending them against manipulation.
6. An understanding of the importance of rules for living together in the family, school, and society.
7. Recognition of the value and importance of the institutions, laws, and ways of life of the local, regional, national, and international community.
8. Understanding of the moral dimensions of daily life and human behavior.
9. Appreciation for the value of work as an avenue for personal self-realization.
10. Understanding of the universal meanings of culture, freedom, and brotherhood in the contemporary world.
11. Ability to make personal value decisions about the defense and support of democracy, human rights, and the country.

In the seventh grade, children are taught about democracy as well as about respect for and exercise of fundamental human rights, the structure of a democratic state, the Spanish constitution, the unity of Spain, European institutions and organisms, and individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the development of world understanding.

The new *Bachillerato* (high school) offers a three-year program to students from 14 to 16 years of age. The social studies curriculum is illustrated in Figure 19b. History, the only social studies course taught during the first year, is entirely devoted to the study of world civilizations and art. This subject is composed of eight units covering a period from the Stone Age to the 20th century. Human and economic geography of the present world is the subject matter of the second-year course. Since physical geography is supposedly taught during basic general education, this course emphasizes human geography in various parts of the world.

Figure 19b

HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Subject	Hours per Week		
	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
History of Civilizations and Art	4	--	--
Geography	--	3	--
Geography and History of Spain	--	--	4
Philosophy	--	--	4
Political, Social and Economic Education	--	2	2

The geography and history of Spain and of Spanish-speaking peoples are studied by all students in both elementary and secondary schools, probably because curriculum planners believed that this kind of knowledge is necessary for effective citizenship. This course, more than the first-year course, is to some extent interdisciplinary because it also involves concepts from anthropology, economics, and sociology.

The course in philosophy, offered during the third year, draws concepts from philosophy and psychology. Sociology, economics, and political science are taught as an integrated course during the last two years. The second year is focused on economics, while the third year is devoted primarily to acquainting students with the nature of Spanish government and politics.

Teaching Methods

Preschool teaching methods are action oriented in order to develop "the spontaneity, creativity, and sense of responsibility of the child." Pupils at this level are involved in exercises that develop thinking abilities.[17]

Elementary-school methods attempt to foster "originality and creativity . . . as well as cooperative habits and attitudes." Thus, the curriculum is kept flexible, allowing individual teachers great freedom in adapting the program to the pupils. The General Education Law recommends the extensive use of audiovisual aids. For social education, it specifically suggests that students move out into the community around their schools to study the ecological potential of the zone.[18]

The most important teaching methods in the new basic general education guidelines can be summarized as follows: (1) personalized education, (2) programming of social education around an "experience" area in mutual interaction with an "expression" area, (3) fidelity to the continuous progress of science, (4) practical and effective knowledge of the environment, and (5) continuous evaluation.[19]

The law also emphasizes that teaching methods are to be personalized at the high school level; in other words, whatever pupils are to learn must make sense to them and be vital to them. Generally speaking, the most widely used teaching style is expository. Inquiry strategies are utilized in very few cases.[20]

Instructional Materials

The use of textbooks is fairly common in primary and secondary education. Before the General Education Law was passed, encyclopedias containing a collection of concepts from all disciplines were used in basic general education to provide a base of information that pupils had to memorize. Today, textbooks and other resources tend to be work oriented and based on the following characteristics: logical organization of content, individualization, self-instruction, active participation on the pupil's part, self-evaluation, and programmed instruction.

Textbooks are organized around units, with related materials clustered around broad topics. Private commercial publishers print those books, which must be approved by the Ministry of Education and Science. Textbooks take a variety of forms, and teachers are free to choose from those that have been approved by the ministry. Children must buy their own books and materials in order to be able to follow the individualized instruction, working independently at their own rate. However, despite the emphasis on individuality, all students in any given class use the same textbooks and materials.

In the social studies at the fifth-grade level, 30 units feature world communities, with emphasis on France. The units are highly condensed and are written with the thought that teachers will supplement the basic textbook with other materials.

Most secondary education books either do not regard inquiry as a method of teaching or develop it in only a few lines. The textbook is central to the teaching process. Although some teachers promote individual reports, very little enrichment is offered in the form of trips, panel discussions, and audiovisual resources. Much emphasis is placed on grades, which are largely determined by exams. These exams require, for the most part, oral responses. However, some ongoing research projects have been testing the effectiveness of active learning in secondary education--in particular, project Germania--75, carried out by the Institute of Educational Science at the University of Valencia, which is focused on the development of student-centered materials.[21]

Education for Living Together: A Case Study

This section contains a summary of a research project, Education for Living Together, conducted by the National Institute of Educational

Science in 1977.[22] The rationale for the hypothesis and variables was based upon the work done by J.V. Torney, A.N. Oppenheim, and R.F. Farnen and published under the title *Civic Education in Ten Countries*.

The aims of the experiment were, among others, the following:

--To determine the state of the art of civic education for Spanish 10- and 13-year-old children.

--To compare Spanish social education with social education in other countries.

--To explore possible inferences for school programs of the results of the study.

The sample consisted of 2,408 fifth- and eighth-graders from 11 randomly selected regions and towns all over Spain. The students came from varied family backgrounds, and their schools were managed by teachers trained in different institutions. Both rural and urban schools were represented. The intervention project was undertaken in the spring of 1977 and was finished in the fall of the same year.

The measurement instruments were quantitative. An effort was made to adapt the 13 tests and questionnaires designed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. The principal of each school, teachers, and students answered the items on the instruments. The dependent selected variables were children's competence in the cognitive domain, attitudes, and perceptions.

The results of this project are relevant for the future planning of social education, because it is one of the few experimental studies conducted in the field of civics. The results can be summarized as follows:

1. Spanish children at the fifth- and eighth-grade levels of basic general education have civic knowledge and social attitudes similar to those of children of other countries.
2. Spanish children have more knowledge about civic foundations, national political processes, and international issues than they have about institutions and socioeconomic issues.
3. Interest in social issues is less in Spain than in other countries. However participation in social activities is higher than in other countries.
4. Spanish children strongly support their government.
5. Spanish students are less conscious of adult issues than German, Italian, or U.S. children.
6. Sociocentric attitudes are less developed in Spain than in other countries.
7. Spanish children perceive social institutions in a confused manner and are able to distinguish only some of them.
8. Spanish social studies teachers use more-traditional methods than teachers in other countries, but they allow much student participation.

The findings also showed that eighth-graders achieved higher scores than fifth-graders in the cognitive test and vocabulary, along with greater maturity in political socialization.

Other types of analysis measured differences between groups of schoolchildren. Parent occupational level was correlated with children's knowledge and vocabulary: children whose parents were university graduates, doctors, managers, factory executives, and teachers obtained the highest scores.

Another important finding was that students who went to private religious schools had the highest scores in knowledge and vocabulary. The second-best scores were obtained by students in private nonreligious centers. The lowest scores were achieved by children in state schools. One surprising conclusion of the researchers was that students in private schools had more liberal attitudes than students in state schools.

Regional differences were related to significant differences in attitudes. The most liberal attitudes were held by students from Barcelona and the Basque country; these students also evidenced stronger support of democratic values and were more critical of the government. Students in Barcelona, Madrid, and the Basque country also scored above the mean in civic knowledge and vocabulary.

International Perspectives

The national government is playing a more active role in the development of educational programs than it once did. During the 1970s, education came to be accepted as an instrument for democratizing the country. The General Education and Education Reform Financing Law was thought of as a means to reform not only education but society as well.

To finance implementation of the law, the Ministry of Education and Science authorized the expenditure of international funds loaned by the World Bank for setting up educational pilot centers and buildings and for bringing foreign experts to implement programs and didactic aids. However, the experts' short stay in the country had only a mild impact upon our education.

The role of the Ministry of Education and Science has been one of establishing in a general way the objectives toward which the schools are to move and offering leadership in organizing, planning, and changing social studies programs. This, which is considered by some educators as constituting an excessive degree of centralization and control of a critical and sensitive curriculum area, has protected the social studies program from pressures from foreign ideologies and domestic social groups. Despite the innovative aspects of the law, the philosophy of national curriculum planning continues to be deeply embedded in the tradition of the Spanish education.

The teaching of current events is part of the basic general education curriculum, usually as an integrated part of each lesson. Usually, however, this topic occupies only a small percentage of the time allocated to social studies.

The first major purpose of basic general education social studies for eighth-graders is to promote social interest, not only in the immediate world and in the Spanish past but also in current foreign and national events and new intellectual and scientific developments. International relations is an integral component of the course.

In 1969 the Ministry of Education and Science suggested that it would be convenient to develop cooperative relationships with international agencies dedicated to education, science, and culture--particularly with UNESCO and the Latin America Education Office--as a means of contributing to the spirit of understanding and international cooperation. The idea behind this effort, customary to the Spanish way of thinking, would be to benefit from the services of these agencies and to share elements of the Spanish culture for the enrichment of other peoples.[23] As a result of this declaration, the new *Bachillerato* curriculum gives preference to Spanish-speaking countries in the social studies and anthropology content.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19

1. Article 3 of the Constitution establishes Castilian as the official language of the state.

2. *El desarrollo de la educación en 1975-76 y 1976-77. Informe a la 36ª Reunion de la Conferencia International de la Educación, Ginebra, Septiembre, 1977* [The development of education in 1975-1976 and 1976-1977: Proceedings of the 36th Annual International Conference on Education, Geneva, September 1977] (Madrid: Ministry of Education and Science, 1977), p. 345.

3. The state may not adopt Catholicism as the official religion, according to Article 16 of the Constitution.

4. *Comentario sociológico. Estructura social de España, Enero-Julio, 1978* [Sociological commentary: Social structures of Spain, January-July 1978] (Madrid: Spanish Confederation of Savings Banks, 1978).

5. The book written by José Pastora Herrero, *Partidos políticos y Educación* [Political parties and education] (Valladolid: Miñón, S.A., 1978), is a survey of the various viewpoints held by political parties, associations, and individuals in regard to education. The "freedom of teaching" issue is also analyzed in Tomás R. Fernández Rodríguez, ed., *Lecturas sobre la Constitución Española* [Readings about the Constitution], 2 vols. (Madrid: UNED, 1978).

6. Renán Flores Jaramillo, *La Reforma Educativa en España* [Educational reform in Spain] (Quito: 1971), pp. 55-57.

7. *Ley General de Educación y Financiamento de la Reforma Educativa y Disposiciones Complementarias* [General Education and Education Reform Financing Law] (Madrid: Ministry of Education and Science, 1977), pp. 46-46.

8. Ibid., pp. 51-52.

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20. Social Studies in Sweden

The Evolution of Civics Education

By Birgitta Granell, Arne Lindquist, and Erik Wallin

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Sweden is a small country with a comparatively homogeneous population. No immigration of consequence occurred until recent years. Immigrants represent slightly more than 5 percent of the population, with local variations; the percentage is much higher in the industrial areas. Sweden is likewise homogeneous in terms of religion and culture. As to politics, the country has been characterized by great stability.

Compulsory education in Sweden, *grundskolan*, covers nine years (from the age of seven) and is divided into three stages of three years each. In the junior and middle schools, the pupils have form masters/mistresses, while in the upper school, classes are taught by specialists in two or three subjects.

The secondary school, *gymnasieskolan*, covers two or three years (in one case four). It is voluntary, but more than 80 percent of the pupils go on to theoretical studies (three years) or vocational training (two years). Civics is studied by all pupils.

The educational system is national. The same goals, the same syllabi, the same curricula apply throughout the country. Nevertheless, the goals are expressed in such a way as to allow for local variations. Current efforts at reform aim at further decentralization.

Civics Education Today

Civics as a subject is comparatively new in Sweden, having developed from those social studies previously taught as part of history. It gained independent status in both the compulsory and the secondary schools in connection with the far-reaching educational reforms of the 1960s. Although the subject formerly had a history/political science focus--knowledge of Sweden's constitution was emphasized--its nature has changed: its primary goal today is to give students a total view of modern society, national and international. Thus, economics, sociology, and cultural geography also play important parts.

Civics is integrated into other subjects in the lower and intermediate grades of the compulsory school. In the lower grades it is taught as part of local history, where the community is studied in terms of geography and politics. At this point the schools work in close cooperation with local police departments, who assign special officers to participate in teaching, and students visit such places as banks and fire stations.

In the intermediate grades civics is included in the combined "orientation subjects," an area that includes subjects related to the natural and social sciences. The collective theme of these subjects is "How people live and work together." Much attention is devoted to discussions of current events in the mass media. Students are exhorted to take newspaper clippings to school, and these provide a basis for discussion.

In the upper school civics is taught as an independent subject. The following content areas are treated: school and studies; working life, careers and training, trade unions; sex roles; personal economics; community organizations and problems; political life in the Swedish society; public finance; economic development; legal systems and problems; social problems (traffic, the environment, use of alcohol and drugs); political, social, and economic problems in other countries; international problems and cooperation.

These basic topics are stated in the syllabus, and are compulsory. Nevertheless, the syllabus makes no mention of timing, which is planned in class with the collaboration of teacher and pupils. Many study areas require close coordination with other subjects. The historical aspect of civics is introduced in collaboration with history teaching. Religious knowledge, geography, and biology shed further light on certain aspects of society.

Practical vocational guidance also plays an important part. During their years in the upper school, pupils are enabled to make at least three different study visits to places of work, and to work in a job for a continuous period of 14 days in the ninth grade. The purpose of this vocational guidance is to assist pupils in making choices for further study and careers. These visits are discussed afterward in many classes. In the case of civics, they provide the basis for discussions of problems related to the industrial environment, industrial democracy, trade unions, and sex roles.

In the secondary school, civics education is focused on the following themes and content areas: population, settlement, and industry with different natural conditions and under different economic, political, and social circumstances; public finances and economic policy; social planning; the constitution, political life, political ideologies; opinion making; international politics and economics; current social problems. This last content area is designed to provide students with opportunities to use and summarize knowledge acquired during their previous studies of civics. The syllabus gives examples of problems which may be treated under this heading: industrial policy, the latest national budget, etc. Yet the pupils have a wide choice of subjects and often work in groups. In the *gymnasiet* too there is cooperation between many different subjects which incorporate elements of civics

236

and anthropology; for example, psychology, philosophy, religion, economics, and other social sciences.

The Purpose of Civics

Primary education. Instruction in civics at this level is intended to provide students with a basic knowledge of modern society, both national and international, and to inform them about various careers and educational opportunities. Students are taught the fundamental tenets of a democratic society and stimulated to become actively involved in social life and the solving of social problems. Students are also helped to develop skills which will enable them to acquire knowledge independently.

Secondary education. As a result of education in civics, secondary pupils are expected to (1) acquire knowledge about population, settlement, industry, economy, and social and political conditions in modern times; (2) gain an understanding of the function and variability of society; and (3) master the knowledge and skills required to analyze and discuss social problems. A number of overriding aims and values underlie these specific goals. The first paragraph of the Education Act reads: "The education of children and young people carried on at the instigation of society is intended to provide students with knowledge and practical skills and, in cooperation with the home, to promote their development into harmonious human beings and capable, responsible members of society." All the subjects taught are expected to contribute to this development, but civics inevitably bears a special responsibility. It must contribute to both the furtherance of the individual's own development and the progress of society.

The School's Role in Socialization

Students must be helped to understand their positions in their families, their schools, their local communities, their country, and the world. The school continues the process of socialization, which begins in the home. Political socialization may be said to begin in the compulsory school, where the pupil becomes familiar with political, social, and economic problems and also acquires concepts related to space, demography, and the environment on which to base further study.

The immediate need for the pupil is to acquire knowledge and skills in order to cope on a practical level with modern society; i.e., the knowledge and skills which make social intercourse possible, facilitate contact with the environment, and are of use in work and at leisure. The pupil must not only study society but also be equipped with skills for living in a democratic community and exercising various functions; e.g., in associations. Students must acquire the means of understanding, accepting, and/or criticizing the society and should practice the art of cooperating and solving problems which they encounter in school, among friends, and in the local community. Young people must prepare themselves for the society of tomorrow and be given opportunities to collaborate in its construction. Political socializstion also deals with the individual's maturity as a social being, which involves the abilities to accept reasons, respect the opinions of others. and abide by democratic decisions.

In order to promote the growth of a democratic society, citizens must actively participate, knowing why and how they can influence its development. The higher the degree of civic education in a country, the more the inhabitants can cooperate in political and economic decisions. Consequently, civic education plays a vital role in maintaining and strengthening a democracy.

What is a democratic citizen in the eyes of society? Any society needs people who can work together, who can solve problems, and who can take a broad view, even in the global context. Active individuals who can work in groups--who are willing to commit their energies to the development of society via political parties, popular movements, and trade unions--are the foundation of a democratic society. A society also needs individuals who have the inclination and the capacity to participate in a responsible fashion in the improvement of life in the local, national, and international communities and who continue to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills even after they have left school.

Civics in Tomorrow's School

Education which makes pupils aware of existing social problems but allows them to be merely passive observers is not in accord with the aims expressed in the syllabus. The danger is that students may get the impression that the problems and structures of society are matters for which "experts and politicians," not individual citizens, are responsible. It is important that each area of study have direct contact with the society in which students live. Each pupil must have repeated opportunities to practice his or her ability to communicate with authorities, organizations, and persons outside the school community. Students must be given opportunities to learn and apply practical civics. They must practice acquiring bases for independent judgment--making up their own minds on current problems, questioning decisions made by those in authority, presenting their own suggestions, and accepting the consequences of their decisions. Education must be designed so that pupils are stimulated to play an active part in the various social organizations. They must be enabled to discover that they themselves bear the responsibility for the development of their society.

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21. Social Studies in Tanzania

Education for Self-Reliance

By David Court

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The Republic of Tanzania is situated on the eastern coast of Africa, just south of the equator. It comprises the mainland area formerly known as Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia; however, the term *Tanzania* usually refers to only the mainland part of the republic. The landscape and climate of Tanzania are extremely varied. The country contains Mount Kilimanjaro, the Great Lakes of the Western Rift, Olduvai Gorge, and the famed Serengeti plains, which run across to the southern shores of Lake Victoria.

Most of the country is a vast arid plateau, broken in the west and center by branches of the Rift Valley. In both the north and south the plateau and grassland give way to forested mountain ranges, while in the east they fall away to a narrow, fertile coastal plain. The country covers 360,000 square miles--larger than the combined areas of Britain, France, and Belgium--and contains a scattered population of 15 million people. Rainfall and population alike are concentrated in the peripheral areas--the coastal belt, the mountain areas, and around Lake Victoria--while the central part is dry and largely uninhabited.

Tanzania is a rural country. Ninety-one percent of the economically active population are engaged in the agricultural sector and have varying degrees of contact with the monetary economy. Almost all students come from rural family groups which grow their own food, cherish cows and goats, and emphasize kinship and ethnic attachment in their social organization. They live in self-constructed homes, usually without electricity, and obtain their water from streams or public wells. Disease and ill health contribute to a life expectancy of only 40 to 41 years. Reaching school age is in itself an achievement, as about 25 percent of the children die before they are five years old. Towns are few and far between, but have an importance beyond their size as staging posts for the rural areas. The present capital city, Dar es Salaam--which means "haven of peace"--was founded in 1962 by Sultan Seyyid Said, one of the Arab sultans who ruled the coastal strip of East Africa at that time. Dar es Salaam has a population of 517,000; there are 14 other towns with populations greater than 15,000.[1]

The geographical variety of Tanzania is paralleled by the diversity among its peoples. A number of important types of group attachment cut across the population. There are estimated to be more than 120 different ethnic groups represented among the people of Tanzania. These groups are distinguished by their distinct languages and cultural practices and by their attachments to particular geographical areas.

Religion provides another major form of group attachment in Tanzania. At least half of the population adheres primarily to traditional religions; the other 50 percent is divided between Christians and Muslims. Islam, introduced by Arab settlers as early as the 8th century, is the largest single religion in Tanzania; Christianity came to East Africa, via various European Protestant and Catholic missions, in the second half of the 19th century. In its traditions and its practices, Islam has the appeal and status of the indigenous national religion. However, the entrenchment of Western education under the Christian missions, and their association with the colonial power, has given Christianity a political influence beyond its numerical strength.

By all conventional indices Tanzania is an economically underdeveloped country. The average per-capita income is about $90, and only 500,000 people are engaged in regular wage-paid employment. The majority of the population is involved in the production of maize, beans, bananas, millet, or rice, which are the staple food crops. The national economy depends on agriculture, with cotton, coffee, sisal, cashew nuts, and tea the principal sources of government revenue. Industrial production is expanding, most notably for the processing of agricultural products and import substitution in such goods as cement, textiles, and tires. The new railway from Dar es Salaam to Zambia has brought previously ignored areas into communication with the rest of the world as well as greater contact with Tanzania's southern neighbors.

With foreign and domestic capital in short supply, the main resources of Tanzania remain its land and its people. Economic and social policies recognize this reality. Although typical of many African countries in its poverty, Tanzania is renowned for its unique attempt to devise a comprehensive philosophy of rural socialism as the framework for economic planning and political organization.

The Arusha Declaration, published in 1967, is the principal document of Tanzania's socialism. It identifies the kind of society Tanzania aspires to be and projects some means for its attainment. Two central elements of the declaration are its emphasis on motivation--i.e., a spirit of self-reliance--and its attempt to link increased farm production with more-equitable distribution of resources. Following from the principles of the Arusha Declaration, major enterprises are now run by state-controlled corporations, and the emphasis at the grass-roots level is on the mobilization of the rural masses to local self-help. The progressive implementation of the Arusha Declaration and of subsequent documents of Tanzanian socialism depend on the massive task of educating the people in its principles and implications.

The political environment of Tanzania provides a favorable context for such mobilization and for the implementation of educational policy. The most supportive features of the environment are the absence of large tribes and the existence of a national language, a strong central party, and a charismatic president.

Unlike most other African countries, Tanzania is not plagued by divisive tribalism, because none of its many dispersed tribes is large enough to aspire to political dominance. Furthermore, Tanzania has been spared two problems which are faced by Kenya and Uganda: serious land pressures and the location of the capital city in an area which is dominated by a single powerful tribe. The mixed nature of Tanzania's colonial experience--German rule being replaced by the British mandate and then trusteeship--worked to deter large-scale European settlement of the type which occurred in Kenya and which impeded national integration.

Secondly, Tanzania has in Swahili a language which cuts across tribal vernaculars. Although it is the first language of only a coastal and urban minority, Swahili is universally spoken in Tanzania. Its particular advantages are its African roots and the fact that it is not the language of an elite or colonial power, as would be the case with English. Swahili is the official national language and is being vigorously promoted as a vehicle of national integration.

A third major unifying force in Tanzania is the national political party. Originally called TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), the party emerged in the 1950s as a major nationalist movement, explicitly opposed to racial, tribal, or religious bases of affiliation and uniting in its support a wide cross-section of the populace. Sweeping aside in successive elections an opposition party sponsored by the colonial government and an extremist splinter group, TANU led the country to independence in December 1961. After independence, the party developed a strong central organization and established branches throughout the country.

In 1965 Tanzania became a constitutional one-party state. A new electoral system, which provided for a choice between TANU candidates, was applied for the first time in the 1965 election. Following a merger between the political parties of mainland Tanzania and the island of Zanzibar, a new single party emerged which is known as the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*, or CCM.

The Educational System

Tanzania has complex forms of indigenous education in which most adult members of the society have educative functions aimed at passing on knowledge and skills related to subsequent life tasks. Formal schooling of the present type in Tanzania, as distinct from traditional education provided by parents and elders, dates from the establishment of the Christian missions in the 1870s and 1880s. The basic aim of early mission schools was to impart literacy in order to promote the spread of Christianity. The colonial governments--Germany before 1918 and Britain after--began to make some provision for education, out of a need for literate clerks and craftsmen for the colonial state. Although the first government school opened in 1893, the bulk of education in colonial times was at the primary level and rarely extended beyond the rudimentary. The change in colonial administration, two world wars, and the intervening depression combined to delay the establishment of a national educational system in Tanzania.

The colonial period left Tanzania with an education system which was inadequate and ill equipped for the needs of a 20th-century African nation with strong aspirations toward economic and social change. In 1961, Tanzania had a literacy level of about 14 percent. Fifty percent of school-age children did not enter the school system, and of the other 50 percent only one in eight received more than four years of education. In 1961, the year of independence, Tanzania's four-year secondary schools had an output of 1,603 students. A further 176 students completed the pre-university Higher School Certificate course, and there were 203 students at the University of East Africa. Educational facilities were unevenly distributed across the regions of Tanzania in relation to patterns of missionary settlement and the colonial economy.

The glaring shortage of trained manpower in 1961 meant that the early years of independence were devoted to expanding the educational facilities and remedying the most obvious defects. The racially segregated structure was ended, and a unified administrative organization brought all types of schools under a central Ministry of Education, with common standards on staffing, admission of pupils, syllabi, and funds. The chief characteristic of the period between 1961 and 1966 was the rapid increase in the number of secondary school places. The inherited and continuing administrative pattern of formal education in Tanzania consists of a seven-year primary course followed by four years of secondary school, two years of upper-secondary pre-university preparation, and a university with a basic three-year degree course.

Despite important changes during the early years of independence, education in Tanzania remained colonial in spirit and organization at the time of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. It was characterized by a hierarchical structure, highly selective examinations, and an academic ethos in which the content of each stage was geared to the requirements of the next rather than to the interests and needs of the terminating majority. The 50 percent of the school-age population who never entered the school system and the majority of the remainder who left after seven years of primary school were viewed as "failures." Their education had done little to prepare them for improving rural life and agricultural productivity. Job qualifications in the monetary sector of the economy were defined in terms of educational attainment, and the reward structure was exclusively geared to years of formal schooling.

The issuance of a presidential edict entitled *Education for Self-Reliance* in 1967 inaugurated an attempt to change the nature and purposes of Tanzanian education which has been going on ever since. *Education for Self-Reliance* was the result of a recognition by President Nyerere that the inherited system of education was producing neither the skills nor the attitudes believed to be commensurate with Tanzania's economic situation or with the kind of society the nation aspired to become. Out of this diagnosis came explicit prescriptions detailing vocational and social tasks for the educational system which aimed at preparing students for developmental roles in a poor agricultural country with a socialist philosophy. The goals of this policy are:

--To transform schools into rurally oriented institutions, providing a complete and self-contained education, whose products, especially from the primary levels, would contribute directly to rural improvement.

--To help schools become integrated into the communities in which they are located.

--To transform the fundamental outlook of students from one in which individualistic and nationalistic values predominate to one characterized by socialist and egalitarian concerns.

The Social Studies: An Overview

One of the outstanding characteristics of Tanzanian education is that civic education--designed to produce students who are able and willing to contribute to the socialist development of the country--is a paramount goal at every level of the school system. Tanzania is unique in Africa in the explicitness with which it has specified desired qualities of citizens and in the wholeheartedness with which the country is attempting to achieve them. The inculcation of specific qualities of citizenship is considered to be one of the central tasks of schools. Schools are expected to produce citizens who will subsequently lead in the transformation of Tanzanian society. The social values which they are expected to acquire and then spread are succinctly defined in *Education for Self-Reliance*. Schools are expected to:

> . . . inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past . . . emphasize cooperative endeavor, not individual advancement; stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service . . . counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance . . . prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers in a free and democratic state.[2]

Two distinct types of citizenship norm are implicit in the officially expected citizenship role. First, citizenship in Tanzania requires basic qualities demanded by *any* modern polity. For instance, the role of the citizen requires such capacities as a sense of personal competence, a propensity for social trust, and identification with national rather than regional interests. A second theme of official expectation, calling for dedication to ideals of communal service and cooperative activity, denotes the distinctly socialist strand in Tanzanian citizenship and incorporates all the personal qualities which are seen as relevant to national development. The official model of citizenship is contained at least partially in most statements of educational policy. A particularly explicit definition can be found on the opening page of the primary school syllabus for political education, which lists in parallel columns the qualities of good and bad citizens. A translation of the "good citizen" column follows:

> Civics--Standard Four
> An explanation of the qualities of good and bad citizens
> The good citizen:
> 1. Is able to understand the politics of our country.
> 2. Is an obedient person.
> 3. Does not gamble.
> 4. Pays taxes regularly.

5. Does his work energetically.
6. Is conscientious in all his work and especially in cooperative tasks.
7. Is ready to share in nation-building tasks.
8. Helps his fellow citizens who are in difficulties.
9. Is law abiding.
10. Is a peaceable person.
11. Has a desire to educate himself.
12. Is humble and not intellectually arrogant.
13. Familiarizes himself with good customs.
14. Enjoys working in cooperative undertakings.
15. Sets an example of dedication in seeing jobs through to a rapid conclusion.
16. Is careful with property.
17. Is trustworthy.
18. Is not lazy.
19. Is considerate for the well-being of the village.
20. Keeps himself in good health.
21. Tries to eat sensible foods.
22. Has respect for the land.
23. Obtains clean water.
24. Maintains valuable cows in good condition for bringing in profit.[3]

Citizenship education is not the exclusive responsibility of any single course--either history, geography, or a composite known as "social studies." Rather the central concerns of social studies--helping pupils develop a clear understanding of themselves and their country and awareness of their social responsibilities and potentialities--is expected to be an integral part of every classroom subject, to be reinforced by various extracurricular activities, and to permeate the very life of the school. Indeed, one of the most interesting characteristics of Tanzanian education is its attempt to break down the distinction between social, political, or citizenship education on the one hand and technical or professional education on the other. Thus, for example, mathematics problems are often stated in language which conveys political messages as well as mathematical principles. Nevertheless, there are a number of particular activities through which specific themes and principles of citizenship education are conveyed at all levels of the school system.

Political education is a designated course for all students from primary school through university and underlies much adult and out-of-school education. It has a strong ideological and normative content, and it is intended to convey knowledge and understanding of the principles and purposes of Tanzania's policies of socialism and self-reliance along with the requirements of good citizenship. At the primary level the initial emphasis is on the political history of Tanzania, especially the attainment of independence and the role and organization of the national political party. This is complemented in history and geography classes by an emphasis on "our land" in an attempt to replace a Eurocentric perspective, which formerly permeated teaching, with one that emphasizes Africa and Tanzania. Current affairs is also a regular part of political education courses at the primary level. The theme of counteracting all forms of exploitation is central. Historical forms of slavery, feudalism, and capitalism are examined and contrasted with the ideal of Tanzania, which is to create a type of society without individual or institutional forms of exploitation:

> We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. We now intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again the victims of these things.[4]

Political education at the secondary level moves from the relatively factual and descriptive approach of the primary school to a more analytical approach. In particular the syllabus focuses on the theme of underdevelopment, viewing it not as a product of historical or geographical "accidents" but as a consequence of colonialism and the kind of international economic and political relationships engendered by colonialism. This perspective enables students to look sequentially at the achievements of precolonial African societies, the nature and consequences of colonialism as a worldwide phenomenon, and the importance of liberation movements. From this approach the point is made that the task of development began rather than ended with the attainment of independence, and the practical implications of this for students are drawn.

> If real development is to take place the people have to be involved. Educated people can give a lead and should do so. They can show what can be done and how. But they can only succeed in effecting changes in the society if they work from a position within the society. In order to do this the educated people in Africa have to identify themselves with the uneducated and do so without reservation.[5]

All schools in Tanzania have farms, and work on them is a regular part of the curriculum. The purpose of this policy is twofold. In the first place, farmwork is intended to supply a means whereby students can contribute to the policy of self-reliance by growing some of their own food, and at the same time it is hoped that the regular experience of successful collective work will help to instill belief in the benefits of cooperative activity--one of the central tenets of Tanzania's socialism. Second, it is hoped that this agricultural work will help students to remember that Tanzania is an agricultural country, and that even those who will not continue in agricultural work will gain from the experience a lasting appreciation of the problems and virtues of peasant agriculture. More broadly, it is a practical expression of the desire to bridge the gulf between "education" and "work" which is seen to have characterized the inherited pattern of education. The seriousness of this attempt to integrate respect for productive work into education is indicated by the fact that at both primary and secondary levels a student's work performance and attitude account for half of his overall assessment.

Two types of extracurricular activities are particularly important in citizenship education throughout the school system. The first of these is defense or militia training; all students take part in weekly drilling exercises, often using wooden replicas of rifles. The object of this training is partly political--to raise political consciousness--and partly military, to prepare students for possible future service in the people's militia, which is seen as the defender of the socialist revolution from either outside or internal subversion. In addition, each school has a CCM Youth League which is a branch of the radical wing of the national party organization; its role is to publicize the principles of the CCM and implement them at the school level.

Although the English language is the medium of instruction in post-primary education, Swahili is the language of civic and social education throughout the education system. The availability of Swahili as a legitimate nationalistic language has made possible the popularization of such political terms and concepts as *Uhuru* (freedom), *Kujitegemea* (self-reliance), *Ujamaa* (socialism), *Kujitolea* (self-sacrifice), and others which have meanings far beyond their literal translations. Various campaigns for collective activity have also used Swahili slogans and catch phrases as a means of popular mobilization. Among these phrases are *Siasa ni kilimo* ("Agriculture is the best kind of politics"), *Ujamaa ni utu* ("Humanity is the essence of socialism"), and *Mwongozo ni huduma* ("Leadership is service"). Thus Swahili is much more than a useful *lingua franca*; it is an aspect of Tanzania's national identity and a vital tool of socialist education.

Civic Education for Adults

One of the most innovative areas of citizenship education in Tanzania has been adult education. Since 1970, which was declared Adult Education Year, the literacy and education of adults has received a major emphasis. A steadily increasing proportion of the educational budget has been allocated to this field, and in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education the Directorate of Adult Education has equal status with the bodies responsible for primary and secondary education. President Julius Nyerere has shown a strong personal interest in adult education. In his annual New Year message of December 31, 1970, he pointed out that the three main objectives of adult education were "to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past, to learn how to improve our lives, to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance."[6]

Nyerere's definition of adult education makes clear the importance of stimulating people to want to learn how to live more fully in their own society:

> But what is adult education? Quite simply, it is learning about anything at all which can help us to understand the environment we live in, and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves. Education is not just something which happens in classrooms. It is learning from others, and from our own experience of past successes or failures.[7]
>
> The importance of adult education, both for our country and for every individual, cannot be overemphasized. We are poor, and backward; and too many of us just accept our present conditions as "the will of God," and imagine

> that we can do nothing about them. In many cases, therefore, the first objective of adult education must be to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past. We must become aware of the things we, as members of the human race, can do for ourselves and our country.[8]

There have been two major outcomes of this emphasis on adult education.[9] The first was the institution of the policy of transforming primary schools into centers of education for both children and adults. Such school facilities as blackboards, chalk, buildings, demonstration plots, craft rooms, and playgrounds are made available, usually in the afternoons, for the use of adults. Before the children leave the school compound, parents begin to arrive. The children entertain and learn from the parents, and the parents are attracted to the school--and hence to learning--by the chance to use the school facilities. They find initial meaning particularly in the practical aspects of the school--for example, the farm, carpentry shop, and demonstration plot.

The second policy outcome of the emphasis upon adult education was the inauguration of a series of massive literacy and educational campaigns coordinated by the Institute of Adult Education. The first three of these were designed to augment and emphasize an important event in Tanzania during the year of the campaign: the introduction of the Second Five Year Development Plan, which spelled out in detail how the concept of *Ujamaa* and the tenets of the Arusha Declaration would be put into practice. The second campaign was associated with the 1970 national election, during which the government wanted to encourage participation and informed choice. The third was linked to the celebration of the achievement of ten years of independence.

These campaigns and those that followed, all of which were based on radio study, have had five major components: weekly radio programs, voluntary groups of learners, trained study group leaders, printed materials, and study guides. Each week a group of 10-20 learners would gather in one place--perhaps a primary school or community center, a political party office, or under a mango tree. The group would first listen to the radio program together and then read the subject matter for the week from the printed materials; if group members could not read, the material would be read to them. The group leader used the study guide to connect the message in the radio program with that in the printed materials. After listening and reading, the group members would discuss how the subject matter in the program and printed materials were related to their own lives.

The operating principle behind these campaigns is that learning can take place only when there is real dialogue, not simply between the group and the leader but also between members of the group. As well as being pedagogically sound, this style of education reflects and reinforces Tanzania's ideology of development--which, in the words of the TANU guidelines, is stated: "If development is to benefit the people, the people must participate in considering, planning and implementing the development plans."[10] The study group leader is not a teacher in the sense of being the repository of superior knowledge but is trained only in how to conduct meetings and how to draw out contributions from the more-reticent members of the study group.

The campaign designed to emphasize the achievements of a decade of independence had two major goals. First, it aimed to "create a deeper sense of national awareness--to help people feel that whoever they are, wherever they live and whatever they do, we are all Tanzanians."[11] Second, because it traced the development of Tanzania from earliest times to the present and emphasized the nation's achievements since independence, it was intended to promote perception of the tenth anniversary of independence as a time for rejoicing (hence its title--the Swahili phrase for that concept--*Wakati wa Furaha*).

Building on the experience gained in the *Wakati wa Furaha* campaign, even larger campaigns have been carried out, including one designed to encourage the use of techniques for preventing the six most common diseases in Tanzania. This campaign, titled *Mtu ni Afya* ("Good health is essential"), involved the active participation of over 2 million adults.

Civics in Higher Education

A second example of an attempt to make civic education a central task of an educational institution is provided by the University of Dar es Salaam. The overall objective has been to fashion an environment which will help students develop an understanding of the needs and aspirations of their society and a commitment to meeting them. This goal has led to intense consideration of the philosophy of university education and the beginning of change in a number of aspects of the university life, among them the teaching program and degree structure, the organization of the university, its research priorities, and its relationships to government and to the wider national community.

Educational philosophy and intellectual climate. The social function of higher education in Tanzania gains strength from the fact that it is developing within a clear educational philosophy which assigns the university a central role in the task of serving and generating national development:

> The university in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. . . . We in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a university--of any type--if it promotes real development of our people. . . . The role of a university in a developing nation is to contribute: to give ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development.[12]

A context in which an educator president has initiated a national debate about the meaning and purposes of education in Tanzania has been a most productive one for stimulating university members into lively and self-conscious consideration of what they ought to be doing and how they can help their university to better serve the objectives of *Education for Self-Reliance*.

The teaching program. One of the distinctive characteristics of university education at Dar es Salaam is the assumption that if professional training is to be applied on behalf of mass welfare it has to be part of a wider understanding of society:

> Obviously technical skills of a very high order are in short supply, and a major chore of the university must be to provide them. But it would be a "false economy" to think that this can be done at the expense of the broad insight that alone makes their use wholly relevant to contemporary Tanzania.[13]

In the past, two factors have inhibited the creation of this broad insight: the elitist mentality which was a product of the hierarchical education system and the fragmented vision of highly specialized training which derived from the intellectual organization of the inherited model of the university.

> In particular it is the fragmentation of perspective entailed by the separate academic "disciplines" which provides the main obstacle to the development of an integral and coherent vision of man in history and society.[14]

The University of Dar es Salaam has attempted to tackle both of these inhibiting factors. It has been concerned not simply with teaching urgently needed skills but also with making specific attempts to ensure that those who receive such training feel morally committed to using it to the best advantage of the nation. The means by which this commitment has been encouraged have included exhortation, inculcation in courses, and the requirement that those qualifying academically for higher education complete at least two years' work experience before proceeding to the university. After graduation from the university, graduates must work for two years at reduced salaries. The intention of this policy is to ensure that university education is seen as part of a wider pattern of training in which the ability to think clearly and solve problems develops within a commitment to understanding at first hand the conditions of underdevelopment as a prerequisite for doing something about them.

The highly specialized and discipline-based degree structure that was part of the inherited colonial pattern has proved difficult to change, particularly because of the nationally heterogeneous composition of the university staff. The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has taken the lead in experimenting with degree structure and course content. In 1971, this department was reorganized with the objective of achieving a problem-solving and career orientation rather than a certificate-seeking and discipline-based one. The traditional subject divisions were replaced by vocational "streams," and a compulsory common course on "development" was instituted with the object of ensuring that all students gain some systematic exposure to the cultural, physical, and social conditions of their society. This course constitues one-sixth of a student's degree requirement.

The rationale for this reorganization was stated thus by the dean of the faculty which pioneered it:

> The basis of the university should be responsiveness to the needs of Tanzania by providing our students with the ability to understand Tanzania's problems and

> contribute towards their solution. It should be established with the expectation of preparing students to think for themselves, addressing themselves to local problems first and using this local experience to contribute to universal knowledge.[15]

The common course is divided into three sections corresponding to the three years of a student's stay at the university. The first-year course aims to stimulate understanding of the nature of underdevelopment in contemporary East Africa, its historical origins, and its international dimensions. The second-year course focuses on the role of science and technology in social change, while the third-year course tries to develop tools of Marxist analysis which are then applied to a consideration of socialist strategies for surmounting underdevelopment.

Teacher preparation. The development of a teaching program which can inspire students to a lasting concern with problems of development in their own society is dependent on a correspondingly relevant type of training and approach for faculty members who will be responsible for that program. There is a growing sentiment among East African academics that professional irrelevance and cultural disorientation have too frequently been the consequence of protracted overseas training. At the same time, there is recognition of the danger that a narrow intellectual incestuousness might develop in people who receive all their academic training at the same university. The University of Dar es Salaam has made some moves to counteract the harmful consequences of extended overseas training while at the same time recognizing the need, particularly in technical and professional fields, for continued access to overseas facilities and expertise. The new pattern toward which the university is moving is one that discourages a full-fledged conventional overseas Ph.D. program and instead encourages prospective staff members to undertake shorter, more-intensive overseas work in programs designed to provide specialized and individualized experience. This may then be combined with more extensive work at Dar es Salaam, perhaps as part of a home university Ph.D. program.

Research. Accompanying the changes in the degree structure of the University of Dar es Salaam have been efforts to incorporate research materials into the curriculum wherever possible and to develop a common course for social scientists in research methodology and appreciation. One of the most important efforts in this direction has been the development of the "teaching through research" programs for second-year students. These programs, which provide opportunities for selected students to engage in supervised and coordinated research on their own environment, help not only to deepen students' knowledge of society and its problems but also to substantially enlarge the body of empirical information available for teaching use. The broader importance of the programs is that successive generations of students who do not go on to graduate research or academic careers gain familiarity with basic processes of data collection, collation, and analysis as well as with some of the fundamental problems of society. Since the majority of these students will be involved in planning roles of some sort, the ability to read tables and evaluate data will be a great aid in their day-to-day work. Moreover, it will equip them to make relevant demands for research on the university, thereby enlarging the university's research-literate constituency--an important element in the achievement of productive research. The implications within the university are the prospects that an understanding of underdevelopment may best be attained via the creation of an integrated social science methodology and approach which draws on common elements from all the main disciplines rather than separate disciplinary approaches. In this regard, one can look toward the emergence of an M.A. program in development or rural development as a possible future vehicle for this integrated approach.

A particular strength of the "teaching through research" programs is that they are concerned with the basic common essentials of a social science approach. Social science is treated not as a narrow discipline-based technology but as an analytical way of approaching problems and organizing data. When social science is seen in this way--as one of a number of possible routes to increased understanding of social reality--it would seem to be an important means by which the university can equip its students to play informed and active roles in contributing to the development of their own society.

Community service activities. Central to the emerging view of the social function of higher education is the idea that the university should help students develop a consciousness of the problems of the peasant masses and a commitment to helping solve these problems. Until recently, attempts to foster such an awareness have gone little beyond calling on students to engage in occasional work on such self-help projects as building primary schools or digging water furrows. However, the decision to prohibit direct entry to university from secondary school, and to admit only those with previous work experience, testifies to the seriousness of the government's intention to restructure national education and to integrate it more fully with social and economic realities. The expectation is that students who have had work experience will have a basis of understanding, commitment, and knowledge which will enable them to make use of university resources in a way that maximizes their future contributions to society.

University organization. The East African universities have inherited the British pattern of university administration and teaching styles. The vice-chancellor is the chief executive, reporting to an external council and served by an internal senate and a registrar. On the teaching side, the familiar two-pronged pattern has been the mass lecture and the small tutorial. It is clear that both patterns have been subjected to severe strain as a result of the rapid expansion of university enrollment, and neither is conducive to the egalitarian style of social interaction which Tanzania wishes to encourage.

The University of Dar es Salaam has made some effort to combat this problem. By means of a comprehensive system of student election and representation, students participate in university governance more fully at Dar es Salaam than at most other universities in the world. In the same way, service workers on the campus participate in the running of the institution. These kinds of representation help to diminish administrative authoritarianism, particularly if (as is often the case) the students make up more than half of an administrative board. The fact that investigative studies made by students are made public and implemented through the university senate and council is indicative of the reality of student participation and of the ideal of a community where all members are enabled to participate in decision making which affects them.

International Perspectives

Our review of the social goals of Tanzanian education has revealed the salience of national rather than international perspectives. There are two main reasons for this emphasis. In the first place, the country has chosen to use the concept of nationalism as a major means of mobilizing the population into productive activity. For a country consisting of a scattered population with diverse localized loyalties and less than 20 years of existence as an independent entity, this has meant an immense task of educating people into the meaning, responsibilities, and opportunities of nationhood. Second, because the educational machinery available for this mobilization was derived from the British model, it was inevitable that great attention would be given to divesting education of its colonial and foreign content and to developing a Tanzanian style, content, and perspective.

However, while the early emphasis was undoubtedly on the nationalization and decolonization of education, increasingly the social objectives of Tanzanian education are being placed in an international context. Students are made aware that Tanzania shares the condition of underdevelopment with the majority of the peoples of the world. Attempts are made to reinforce desirable attitudes and values by drawing attention to the nation's common cause with other countries striving to break out of this situation, particularly with those who are utilizing socialist means of doing so. The struggle against colonialism and underdevelopment thus provides an international framework for viewing the wider world. The liberation of the African continent from institutionalized racism--of which apartheid in South Africa is the most notable example--further provides a continuing ideal and theme of study.

Tanzania's goal of producing dedicated, competent, and informed citizens is not the province of a single subject labeled "social studies" but rather part of an emphasis that permeates every educational activity. Nothing less than the involvement of education in the transformation of social relations is the paramount purpose of Tanzanian education, and it provides a unique experiment in applied social studies.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 21

1. A new capital city is being established at Dodoma, which is located in the center of the country.

2. Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 7, 27.

3. *Primary School Civics Syllabus*, Standards 4-7 (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education, 1969).

253

4. *The Arusha Declaration* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

5. Julius K. Nyerere, "The Intellectual Needs Society," in *Freedom and Development* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 25.

6. Julius K. Nyerere, "Adult Education," text of radio speech of December 31, 1970 (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education).

7. Ibid., p. 6.

8. Ibid., p. 10.

9. The information in this section is drawn from Paul J. Mhaiki and Bud Hall, *The Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1972), and Bud Hall, *Political Education Through Radio Study Groups* (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1973).

10. "TANU Guidelines," *Mbioni* 6, no. 8, (1971).

11. Bud Hall, *Wakati Wa Furaha*, Research Report no. 13 (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1973).

12. Julius K. Nyerere, "The Role of Universities," in *Freedom and Socialism* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 183.

13. John Saul, "High Level Manpower for Socialism," in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, *Socialism in Tanzania*, vol. 2 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), p. 281.

14. Ibid., p. 281.

15. Justinian Rweyemamu, "Reorganization of the Arts and Social Sciences," *Taamuli* 2, no. 1 (1971).

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22. *Social Studies in the United States*

Confusion, Restructuring, and a Slow Reconstitution

By Richard E. Gross

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* * * * * * *

The schools and their programs in the United States reflect the diversity of a 50-state nation of 220 million people, the great bulk of whom are descendants of immigrants from other countries and regions of the world. Educational diversity is further enhanced by the great size and distances within the United States, as well as by the tradition of community finance and control which has prevailed since the beginning of public education in this country. Although control of education is largely vested in state governments, until recent years the states have left most educational matters in local hands. During the last quarter century, however, considerable centralization has begun to take effect at the state level, largely as a result of attempts to equalize conditions between school districts in states where there is great disparity in the abilities of local districts to support efficacious school programs.

Yet foreign visitors to the United States frequently cite the surprising commonalities they find in school offerings and organizational patterns in this country, as well as in the approaches used by instructors. These similarities might be due to the efficiency of commercial and professional communication or to the fact that almost 50 percent of U.S. youth are now being prepared for college and university entrance. The shared values of a host of citizens of all classes and the similarities of fairly standardized textbooks provided by a few dominant publishing houses are further elements in promoting commonality.

Additionally, the nation has purposely used its schools to promote civic ends; most often, such efforts are focused on social studies programs. Given the last situation, it is interesting that more variations are apparent in the sociocivic curriculum than in any other subject matter field in the schools of the United States.

The Social Studies

The concept of a social studies curriculum which features broad-field and interdisciplinary topics, units, and lessons drawn from history and the social sciences, as well as from the contemporary scene, emerged in this country some 65 years ago. Because this organizational approach is more recent than the structures of content in most other school subject areas, one might expect to find more variations in the social studies than, for example, in mathematics or language programs. However, when one examines the actual situation in many schools, the term *social studies* is used to designate a multisubject area or department; many individual courses and classes are not true social studies offerings in the best theoretical sense. The observer finds, rather, fairly disparate and relatively "pure" history, geography, government, and other social science courses being offered under the now-accepted category "social studies." Indeed, theorists, teachers, and lay persons have never been able to agree on just what the social studies are.[1] Although this situation has been in effect for a long time, it has been exacerbated in recent years by the "new social studies" movement that began in the late 1950s and has continued into the present. This period spawned more than 60 new projects and programs in the social studies field, for the most part developed by social scientists who had minimal contact with the schools or with children. The bulk of these projects were discipline centered; in some, educators and psychologists were purposely excluded from planning teams. Although it would be unfair to blame these innovative programs for the failure to achieve greater agreement about the concept and content of the social studies, since thousands of teachers over the years had been educated in the academic, separate-subject tradition, there is little doubt that these highly publicized projects contributed to a confusing "cafeteria" of curriculum options.[2]

The "new social studies" offerings were developed with the support of substantial federal funds, made available for the first time for curriculum development. The movement did tend to emphasize the importance of skill development and inquiry competencies rather than the memorization and regurgitation of facts which had dominated classrooms and learning for so many years. The emphasis on process rather than on content knowledge was welcomed by many leaders and some teachers in the field; but, again, tradition was not to be denied.

Recent surveys have made it clear that the great bulk of these projects fell upon infertile ground. The developers frequently failed to consider the realities of school situations and the attitudes of typical teachers, nor were adequate funds provided for implementation and dissemination activities that would ensure the spread of the new programs through resourceful approaches in inservice education. The great majority of these projects were never accepted by teachers, and relatively few are now in evidence in social studies classrooms.[3] During the present era of emphasis on getting "back to the basics," particularly in elementary schools, only a few hours a week are being devoted to the social studies. The statewide and districtwide proficiency and achievement tests now employed in more than half of the 50 states usually do not assess sociocivic learnings--a fact that reflects the diminished importance of the social studies in the minds of many persons.

The present situation may be, in part, a reaction to the "now" era--the student-oriented and crisis-oriented programs and instructional emphases that emerged during the "revolutionary" 1960s. Although the proliferation of minicourses, electives, and individualized curricula that emerged during the 1960s encouraged some healthy innovation and variations from entrenched offerings, it also contributed to a breakdown of organized scope and sequence--to a "balkanization" of the field of social studies. In this period of near-anarchy in curriculum, when almost anything and everything was acceptable as "social studies" and all offerings tended to be assessed as being of equal value, few skills and concepts were recognized as key or essential learnings that all pupils ought to experience as part of their social education.

That disastrous era is largely gone, but the picture is hazy at best. Reconstitution and restructuring move slowly, and often in different directions. Differences of opinion about the social studies continue to characterize the profession. Teachers who claim to be doing one thing (for example, inquiry) may in reality be doing something very different (encouraging students to "inquire" by answering questions at the end of a textbook chapter). There is a National Council for the Social Studies, but its impact is not significant; many potential members belong, instead, to one of the smaller, separate organizations for teachers of geography, history, and economics.

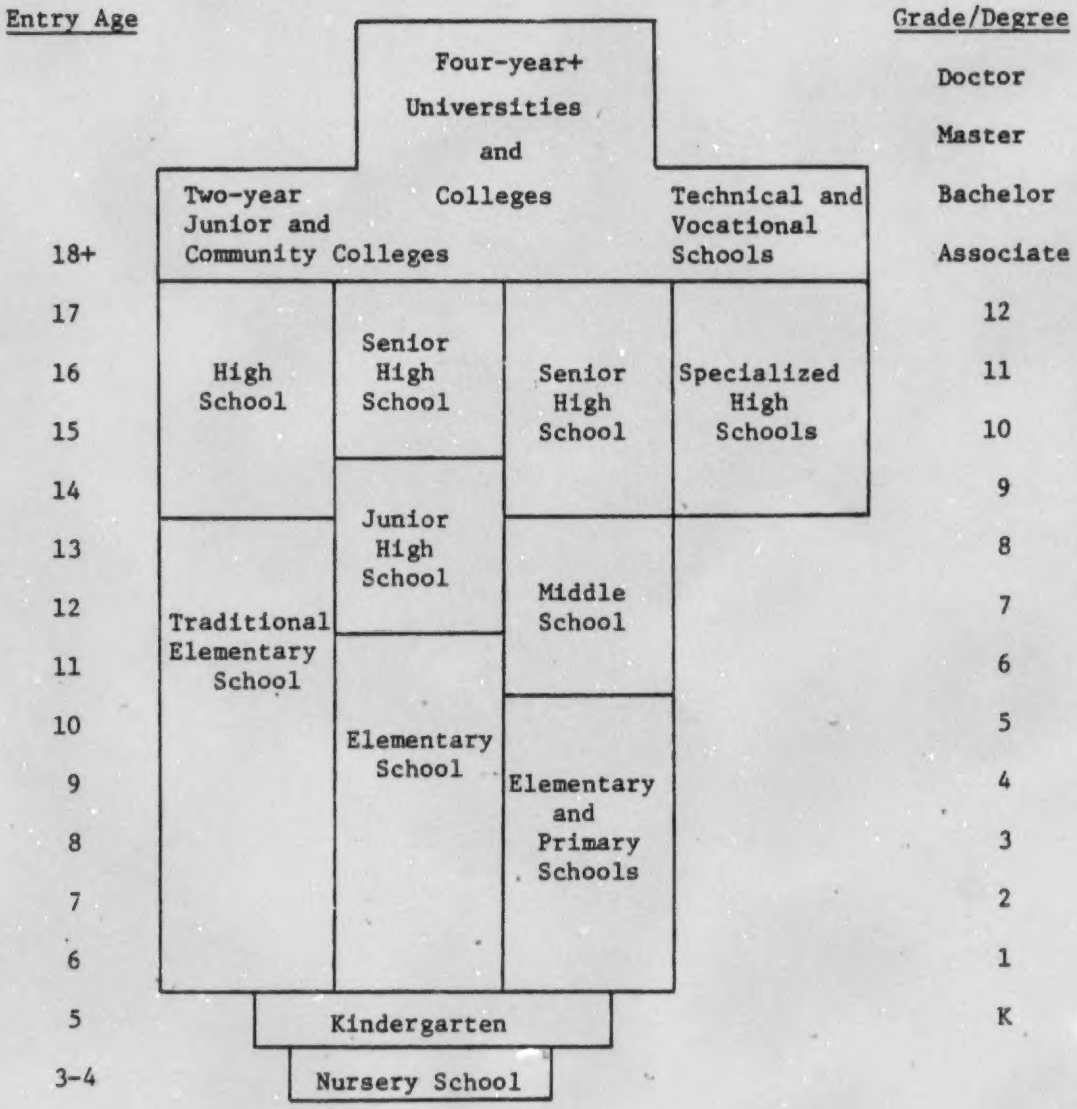
School Programs in the United States

Most children in the United States go to public schools. The organization of schools in the private sector is very similar to that of the public schools; Figure 22a illustrates the basic pattern of schooling followed by the great majority of pupils. Although an increasing number of parents are enrolling children in private and public preschools that give some initial training to young children before they begin their regular educational program, formal schooling for most children begins in the kindergarten at age five. Most children spend their first seven or nine years at a neighborhood elementary school, sometimes referred to as "grammar school." Such a school may be divided into primary and middle-grade segments. Children who move through a K-6 elementary school normally proceed to a three-year junior high school for grades 7, 8, and 9. Approximately half of all U.S. students follow this pattern, which tends to be more common in urban areas. In recent years there has been a tendency to reconstitute and rename the junior high school as a "middle school," with most pupils enrolled for three years starting at the sixth-grade level.

After junior high school, many students pass into senior high school for a three-year period at approximately age 15. The more-traditional pattern, however, is that of a K-8 elementary school and a

Figure 22a

SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN THE UNITED STATES


Entry Age
18+
17
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11
10
9
8
7
6
5
3-4
Four-year+ Universities and Colleges
Two-year Junior and Community Colleges
Technical and Vocational Schools
High School
Senior High School
Senior High School
Specialized High Schools
Junior High School
Middle School
Traditional Elementary School
Elementary School
Elementary and Primary Schools
Kindergarten
Nursery School
Grade/Degree
Doctor
Master
Bachelor
Associate
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four-year high school. The K-8 elementary school has been retained to a greater extent in rural areas and smaller towns, accompanied by a four-year high school. The above-mentioned middle-school development is bringing about an increase in the four-year high school pattern. This development reflects in part theoretical views about the earlier maturing of pupils: it is also the result of decreasing numbers of elementary-age children and the need to readjust the use of space between elementary and secondary schools.

The public high school pattern still tends to offer a general academic curriculum, with relatively few schools specializing in commercial or technical programs. One criticism of contemporary secondary education is that high schools fail to offer truly comprehensive programs, with adequate offerings and varied tracks for students with different abilities and vocational interests. The result is a serious drop-out problem, since many students do not find that the emphasis of the typical high school on college and university preparation answers their needs.

More than 90 percent of U.S. youth enter high school, and more than 40 percent go on to some kind of higher education. How these figures might change as a result of relaxed state attendance requirements remains an open question. Depending on individual state law, students must stay in school up to age 16, 17, or 18. Certainly if these young adults are to be required to stay in secondary school (a number of school systems allow part-time attendance coupled with work experience), high schools will have to provide a rich variety of offerings. Most U.S. high schools are quite large in comparison with those in other nations, and it is feasible to offer a variety of programs if the community will finance a broad scope of offerings.

The higher-education system in the United States includes two-year junior or community colleges, which in some states enroll a considerable number of 19- and 20-year-olds as well as older part-time students and adults following new vocational or creative and leisure-time interests. These two-year colleges are usually free or charge very low fees. Graduation from high school is usually the only requirement for admission. Most diplomates of two-year colleges end their formal education at this point, but in some states considerable numbers transfer to colleges and universities in order to complete four-year bachelor's degree programs. Low-cost four-year state and municipal institutions are also available in most states to students who want four-year college degrees. Many of these public institutions, now multipurpose, grew out of former "normal schools" (teachers' colleges) or agricultural and technical schools. There are also many private liberal-arts colleges, most of which are or originally were sponsored by religious groups. The majority of both the private and public four-year universities award master's and doctoral degrees in addition to a four-year baccalaureate.

The Typical Social Studies Program

Figure 22b shows the sequence of the social studies program offered to most students who progress through elementary and secondary school. It must be emphasized, however, that in many communities or states there are variations on this pattern. Therefore, as a result of grade-level placement and pupil mobility (one out of four U.S. families changes its residence each year), it would be theoretically possible for a student to complete 12 grades of school without experiencing a single course in U.S. history--or, on the other hand, to be exposed to such an offering from four to seven times. It should also be noted that few elementary-level pupils have social studies every day, and that the amount of time devoted on a given day may vary from as little as 20 minutes to as much as an hour.

Junior- and senior-high pupils usually have an hour of social studies each day, but many schools do not require that social studies be taken every year. Typically, a four-year senior high school requires only two and a half years of social studies. The courses most frequently required are U.S. history and government. Social studies electives must complete for enrollment with offerings in other subject-matter fields.

Instructional Methodology

An integral aspect of the interdisciplinary, problem-centered theory of the social studies is related to process and techniques. It is not possible to meet the skill-oriented objectives of this curriculum by using merely a read/recite or teacher-lecture method of instruction. While some social studies teachers still emphasize such approaches, most have begun to incorporate class discussion, small-group work, independent study, community projects, and other active-learning techniques into their methodological designs. Some observers have pointed out that many teachers still hesitate to apply appropriate didactic approaches for building the kinds of pupil competence that should stem from social education, and that the field as a whole would profit by making wider use of effective long-term planning as well as such strategies as problem-centered units, research projects, role playing, and student-led panels. These critics believe that the social studies will never achieve their maximum impact on U.S. youth until truly important, lively, and controversial topics are joined to a methodology relying on direct pupil involvement in problem resolution. Such approaches emphasize the development and acquisition of the key knowledges, skills, and attitudes that characterize a free, inquiring, and compassionate individual--one who understands his or her personal rights and responsibilities as a citizen of the community, state, nation, and world.

Case Studies

Two of the many curriculum projects developed in the United States during the 1960s are described in this subsection. One example at the secondary-school level is the discipline-oriented High School Geography Project (HSGP). Man: A Course of Study (MACOS) is an interdisciplinary unit designed for students in the middle grades of elementary school. Both are representative of the projects developed during what came to be known as the "new social studies" movement.

Figure 22b

TYPICAL SOCIAL STUDIES OFFERINGS

K - 3	4	5	6 - 7	8	9	10	11	12
Study of home, family, school, neighborhood, and community relationships, functions, and services	State and local or regional emphases; introduction to history, geography, economy, etc.	U.S. history (emphasis on early periods to Civil War; may include some study of government, Canada, Mexico	Geographically centered study of world regions (includes treatment of economic, historic, and social factors; in some schools has a greater culture-area emphasis or focus in on selected peoples or nations)	U.S. history and government (emphasis on middle period of history)	Civics, world geography, or state history	World history or modern history	U.S. history (emphasis on period since Civil War)	Government, contemporary problems, or electives: economics, psychology, sociology, international relations, law education, etc.
(possible study of several different cultures in grades 3 or 4)								

Note: In many social studies classes from the middle grades on, considerable time is allocated to the study of current affairs. It is estimated that from 20 to 25 percent of most high school social studies programs is devoted to current events.

High School Geography Project. Now known as *Geography in an Urban Age* and published by the Macmillan Company, this one-year program was developed in the early 1960s under the auspices of the Association of American Geographers with the support of the National Science Foundation. It has normally been offered in the ninth or tenth grade. The emphasis of the program is on inquiry and active learning; the central focus is on geographic settlement. While a good deal of physical geography is included, the major orientation of HSGP is toward applying a geographer's skills and insights to human geography.

The program consists of six units. Unit 1, *Geography of Cities*, contains activities related to the development and decline of urban centers. Basic skills in using geographers' tools (maps, charts, photographs, models, etc.) are introduced. Students work in small groups most of the time. The basic activities are focused on city location and growth, a detailed study of racial housing patterns in New Orleans, the complete development of a modern city, local surveys, and the development of a megalopolis.

In Unit 2, *Manufacturing and Agriculture*, students decide where to locate an industrial company in the United States through a role-playing activity. An interesting game, "Farming," deals with problems of agriculture on marginal lands. Interviews with farmers from different countries provide a comparative study of agriculture and world food problems.

Unit 3, *Cultural Geography*, includes a variety of topics, ranging from attitudes toward cattle in different countries to sports around the world. Unit 4, *Political Geography*, contains studies of legislative problems related to geography in a hypothetical state, redistricting in an attempt to ensure equal voting representation, a boundary dispute, and the metropolitan governmental problems in London.

Unit 5, *Habitat and Resources*, deals with the interaction of people with their environment by comparing the different means of modifying the environment used in Egypt and California. A study of water requirements in highly industrialized societies includes an analysis of pollution and waste disposal difficulties. Unit 6, *Japan*, is the single regional unit in the course. It uses a variety of media--filmstrips, tables, charts, and overhead transparencies--to help students understand issues related to modernization, both historical and current.[4]

Man: A Course of Study. Commonly known as MACOS, this is the best-known part of an unfinished curriculum that evolved in the 1960s at the Educational Development Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Originally funded by the National Science Foundation and now disseminated by Curriculum Development Associates of Washington, D.C., this year-long elementary program draws from archeology, anthropology, psychology, sociology, history, and biological science. Its major theme is "What Makes Humans Human?" MACOS is unusual because it is based on ethnography, film studies, and field research--strategies normally considered the province of college students. Students and teachers explore together the roots of mankind's social behavior through studying selected animal groups and examining a remote human society very different from the modern United States. Social-science skills and concepts are emphasized, and students simulate the methods of behavioral scientists in observing, collecting data, hypothesizing, and problem solving.

The first unit of MACOS is devoted to the life cycle of the salmon. The survival of the young salmon is compared with the parental care provided by human beings. The second unit is focused on the behavior patterns of herring gulls. Again, the treatment of the offspring is compared with the dependency of children in a human family. The third unit uses baboons as a basis of comparison with human social behavior. Questions about dominance, aggression, and territoriality are explored as the child comes to better understand human rearing practices and social behavior. The fourth and culminating unit explores the concept of culture through a study of the Netsilik Eskimos, a pure example of a surviving traditional culture. Again, a base is provided through a study of a variety of activities ranging from subsistence endeavors to the development of beliefs and values that mark the cooperativeness and cohesiveness of a culture.[5]

MACOS uses a multimedia approach; films and filmstrips are used as a primary data source, and 23 student booklets replace the conventional textbook. Also provided are maps, posters, poems, songs, games, creative construction activities, and actual social science field notes and journals. Much of the work is accomplished in small groups.

MACOS was probably the most expensive to develop and the most highly publicized of the "new social studies" projects in addition to being, probably, the most disparate, departing dramatically from usual offerings at elementary grade levels. It was, therefore, ultimately to draw the greatest criticism.

Although both the HSGP and MACOS were well conceived, thoroughly tested, and fairly well disseminated through special training programs for teachers and commercial publication, neither--as was the case with most of the other 1960s projects--achieved the influence that had been hoped for. The HSGP was probably too difficult for many teachers to handle, as well as for students to learn. Its disparate parts did not cover certain conventional elements or areas of geography instruction. The "hands on" aspects of the program made it difficult for teachers to control materials--losses and breakage were common. There was no textbook or workbook. Like some other projects, HSGP included some excellent process-oriented human geography, but the developers did not adequately assess the situation in the schools nor the inclinations and weaknesses of the teachers whom they expected to carry forth the "renaissance" of geography in the high schools. Similar errors characterized the other discipline-centered programs of the 1960s, which to a large extent never "took" in the schools. One developer, anticipating some of the potential obstacles to the success of the "new social studies," had urged the creation of "teacher-proof" materials. However, even in an age of electronic media and programmed instructional packages, learning still depends primarily on the outlook and competence of the classroom teacher.

MACOS, the most richly funded of the federally sponsored projects, wisely required teachers to attend training workshops before using the new program. Nevertheless, it also failed to gain a large audience, although initially it was well received. MACOS suffered from some of the same liabilities that plagued the other projects; for example, it required excellent teachers in order to accomplish its admirable aims. Beyond that, its ultimate "failure" was due primarily to its unconventional subject matter. Many parents and lay persons knew that children at the fifth-grade level normally studied American history. Now, they could not accept such a melange of strange subjects and topics, nor strategies often viewed as being beyond the ability of 10- and 11-year-olds. Many patriotic and civic groups objected to such a radical departure from the traditional subject matter. Certainly one of the great mistakes made by the MACOS developers was their decision not to present it at the sixth- or seventh-grade level, where children normally study world regions and cultures. MACOS encountered both political and ideological opposition. When fundamental religionists on the one side and, eventually, members of Congress on the other began to attack what they saw as morally dangerous and "un-American" elements in the program's content, materials, and approaches, the failure of MACOS was certain.[6]

The "new social studies" projects, as a group, promised to bring forth a new era of social education. Unfortunately, most misfired for a variety of reasons besides those mentioned previously: inappropriate reading level, teacher resistance, state laws which did not allow expenditures for anything but conventional textbooks,[7] even the reluctance of publishers' sales representatives to take bulky and complicated samples into schools in order to demonstrate the new materials.[8]

Contemporary Affairs and International Education

Several studies have shown that most high school social studies teachers who teach about contemporary affairs devote approximately one day per week to the discussion of such topics in their classes. Some instructors deal infrequently with current events. The time devoted to current affairs also depends on the specific course; for example, a history teacher may allocate much less time to such issues than a teacher in a government class. Nonetheless, probably too many teachers disregard the importance of relating parallel current developments to the content of their classes. Not all states and districts provide funds for the purchase of newspapers and topical materials, and individual teachers may be reluctant or even forbidden to ask pupils to subscribe to one of the excellent weekly current-events newspapers or magazines prepared commercially for distribution to students. Radio and television are not used as much as might be expected. Although there does seem to be some increase in the use of local daily newspapers by both elementary and secondary teachers, it is evident that many children are not receiving adequate exposure to this important aspect of sociocivic education.

Since World War II and the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, as the result of a growing recognition of the global interdependence of people, nations, resources, and products, Americans have become more conscious of the importance of an international outlook. The electronic and communication revolutions, which bring faraway events into everyone's living room, have further contributed to a global orientation. One would expect, therefore, that more attention would be paid in the classroom to current events and that offerings and enrollments in such elective courses as World Regions, World Geography, and World Cultures would be on the increase. However, these developments have not occurred to any great extent.[9]

Undoubtedly more teachers are paying attention to the international aspects of their courses than was true in the past. Nonetheless, in spite of the vigorous attempts of several organizations to promote global perspectives in the curriculum, special projects devoted to international education, and global-education conferences and institutes, the overall social studies program in the United States remains highly nationalistic. The predominance in the curriculum of U.S. history, civics, and government classes--which often duplicate each other at different grade levels--results in overexposing many students to a narrow perspective. Such important areas of the world as Latin America, Africa, Oceania, and Asia are sadly underemphasized in the high school social studies classes. Probably the most globally oriented courses of any depth are found in grades 6 and 7. This situation is far from satisfactory insofar as it fails to provide an understanding of the common problems and needs in the ever-more-interdependent world in which students will be ultimately involved.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 22

1. Robert Barr et al., *The Nature of the Social Studies* (Palm Springs, Calif.: ETC Publications, 1978).

2. Richard E. Gross, "The Status of the Social Studies in the Public Schools of the United States: Facts and Impressions of a National Survey," *Social Education*, March 1977, pp. 194-200, 205.

3. Karen B. Wiley and Jeanne Race, *The Status of Pre-College Science, Mathematics, and Social Science Education: 1955-1975*, Volume 3, *Social Science Education* (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Science and Mathematics Education, Ohio State University, 1977).

4. See Donald J. Patton, ed., *From Geographic Discipline to Inquiring Student*, Final Report of the HSGP (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1970).

5. *Man: A Course of Study* brochure (Washington, D.C.: Curriculum Development Associates, 1972).

6. See Karen B. Wiley, *The NSF Science Education Controversy: Issues, Events, Decisions* (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, 1976).

7. In most states, basic textbooks are provided to public school students free of charge; thus, texts have long been central in the organization of courses. By eschewing traditional textbook formats, most of the projects helped ensure their own demises.

8. James P. Shaver et al., "The Status of Social Studies Education: Impressions from Three NSF Studies," *Social Education*, February 1979, pp. 150-53.

9. See Gross, "The Status of the Social Studies."

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23. Social Studies in Zambia

Building a Commitment to National Unity

By Anne Sikwibele and Ado Tiberondwa

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* * * * * * *

The Republic of Zambia became politically independent in 1964 after nearly 70 years of British rule. Its population of about 5 million people is unevenly distributed and composed mainly of indigenous black Africans. Though small in population, Zambia is large in area (75,216,190 hectares). The country is situated in south central Africa; its immediate neighbors are the independent countries of Malawi and Botswana and the British colony of Rhodesia. Since Zambia is landlocked and some of its neighbors are politically hostile or unstable, the country's geopolitical and economic position is strategically vulnerable.[1]

Copper mining became the mainstay of the economy after independence, providing about 95 percent of the export earnings.[2] However, because copper prices have experienced a great deal of fluctuation on the world market in recent years, Zambia is now making serious attempts to diversify production toward agriculture. The main agricultural crop is maize, which is also the staple food for the majority of the African peoples. The country is self-sufficient in sugar, ground nuts, and tobacco, all of which are grown on a commercial basis. Other important crops are cotton, rice, beans, sunflowers, and various other fruits and vegetables, which are not grown on a large scale. Coffee and tea are grown on an experimental basis.[3] Further development of agriculture is a top policy priority of the national government, with the aim of making the country self-sufficient in food production.[4]

Zambia inherited a weak social infrastructure as a colonial legacy. This has manifested itself in the gross neglect of social services, especially in the field of education.[5] Thus, at independence, the new government had many problems to grapple with, among them a scarcity of skilled manpower which led the government to concentrate on quantitative educational expansion at all levels. Most educational services in the country are provided by the government, supplemented by those provided by such voluntary organizations as missionary societies and by private individuals. Private fee-paying schools are a recent development in the country; these grew out of the acute need for more school places in form 1 and form 5 (eighth and eleventh grades), which the government could not fully provide.

As a newly independent country, Zambia has the problem of building a nation out of many tribal or ethnic groups, each of which saw itself as an independent nation before the colonization of the country by the British. The population of Zambia is very heterogeneous, composed of 72 different language groups. Tribal cleavages created significant divisions within Zambia shortly after independence, and not surprisingly, have provided a continuing challenge to the integration of the country into a single nation.[6] However, the government has done everything possible to encourage national unity and national consciousness, even going so far as to arrange for the slogan "One Zambia, one nation" to be broadcast over Radio Zambia about ten times in every 24-hour period.[7]

After achieving political independence, Zambia had a two-party system until December 1973, when the country became a one-party state; after that date Zambia was no longer tied to the British constitutional system.[8] The country is now guided by President Kaunda's ideology of humanism. The form of government in Zambia can be described as participatory democracy.[9] The system provides for general elections to be held every five years.

Social Studies in the Educational System

The structure of the educational system in Zambia is shown in Figure 23a. Social studies as a discipline includes such traditional subjects as history and geography as well as an all-embracing subject known in Zambia's educational system as "civics," which is taught in the junior sections (first three years) of Zambia's secondary education system.[10] The subject has the following characteristics:

--It aims at helping individuals to understand those rights which are guaranteed to all citizens by the constitution and by the Bill of Rights.[11]

--It spells out those duties and responsibilities which each Zambian has to himself, to his family, to his neighborhood, to his country, and to the entire society of fellow human beings.

--It introduces pupils to Zambia's national philosophy, humanism, and its application to the ever-changing Zambian society.[12]

--It gives young Zambians some knowledge of the workings of different Zambian institutions connected with government, commerce, education, culture, and the legal and political systems. The course deals with the political, economic, and social structures of Zambia and the relationships between Zambia and the outside world.

At the end of the course, students are expected to be acquainted with Zambia's political, economic, and social structures and problems and their individual rights and obligations as well as with the meaning and application of the national philosophy of humanism--which views man, not material things, as the logical focus of all activities that go on in society.

Because Zambia attaches very great importance to the study of civics, this subject has now become recognized throughout the country. In teacher-training institutions, including the University of Zambia, civics is one of the "teaching" subjects. Student teachers take courses in the content and methodology of teaching civics in secondary schools. For example, since the 1974-1975 academic year, the University of Zambia has been turning out civics teachers in the following numbers:[13]

Academic Year	No. of Graduating Civics Teachers	Total No. of Graduating Teachers
1974-1975	28	103
1975-1976	34	110
1976-1977	52	121
1977-1978	41	102
1978-1979	59	121

Similar trends are observed in junior secondary and primary teacher-training colleges. The emphasis on social studies and civics in Zambia's educational system is further confirmed by the fact that in both grade 7 and form 3 all students must sit for the final examinations in social studies and civics, respectively. Although civics is not offered as a university subject, it is assumed that prospective teachers who have done intensive courses in economics, political science, sociology, and history can be trained to become satisfactory civics teachers.

The sequence of social studies instruction in Zambia throughout the formal schooling is shown below.

Grades 1-2:	Social studies taught with Zambian languages.
Grades 3-7:	Social studies includes civics, geography, and history.
Forms 1-3:	Civics, history, and geography taught as separate subjects.
Forms 4-5:	History and geography taught separately. There are plans to teach political education.
University:	1. Social Sciences Foundation. 2. Training for civics teachers. 3. Other social science subjects taught at advanced levels.

Social Sciences at the University Level

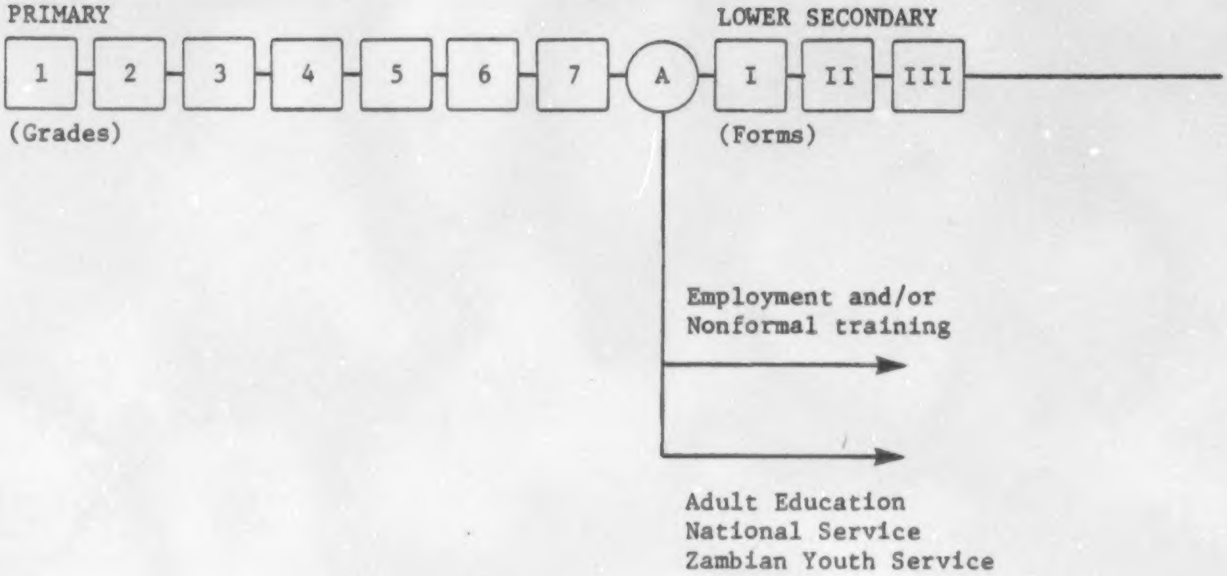
Because the University of Zambia, the only university in the country, is fully aware of the importance of social sciences, the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences offers a major first-year course called "Social Sciences Foundations" which introduces, in an integrated form, some of the major concerns, concepts, and methods of inquiry of various branches of the social sciences.[14] In the context of the contemporary situation in Africa in general and Zambia in particular, this course looks at the process of social change since colonial times. This approach helps students understand the problems of present-day Zambia and Africa and make reasonable predictions about the future.

The Social Sciences Foundation course is considered so important in the university curriculum that it is a conditional prerequisite for registration in virtually all further courses in political science, economics, sociology, and public administration. Apart from its introduction of the initial concepts in these subjects, the course also gives attention to a variety of study skills and research techniques in social science disciplines.

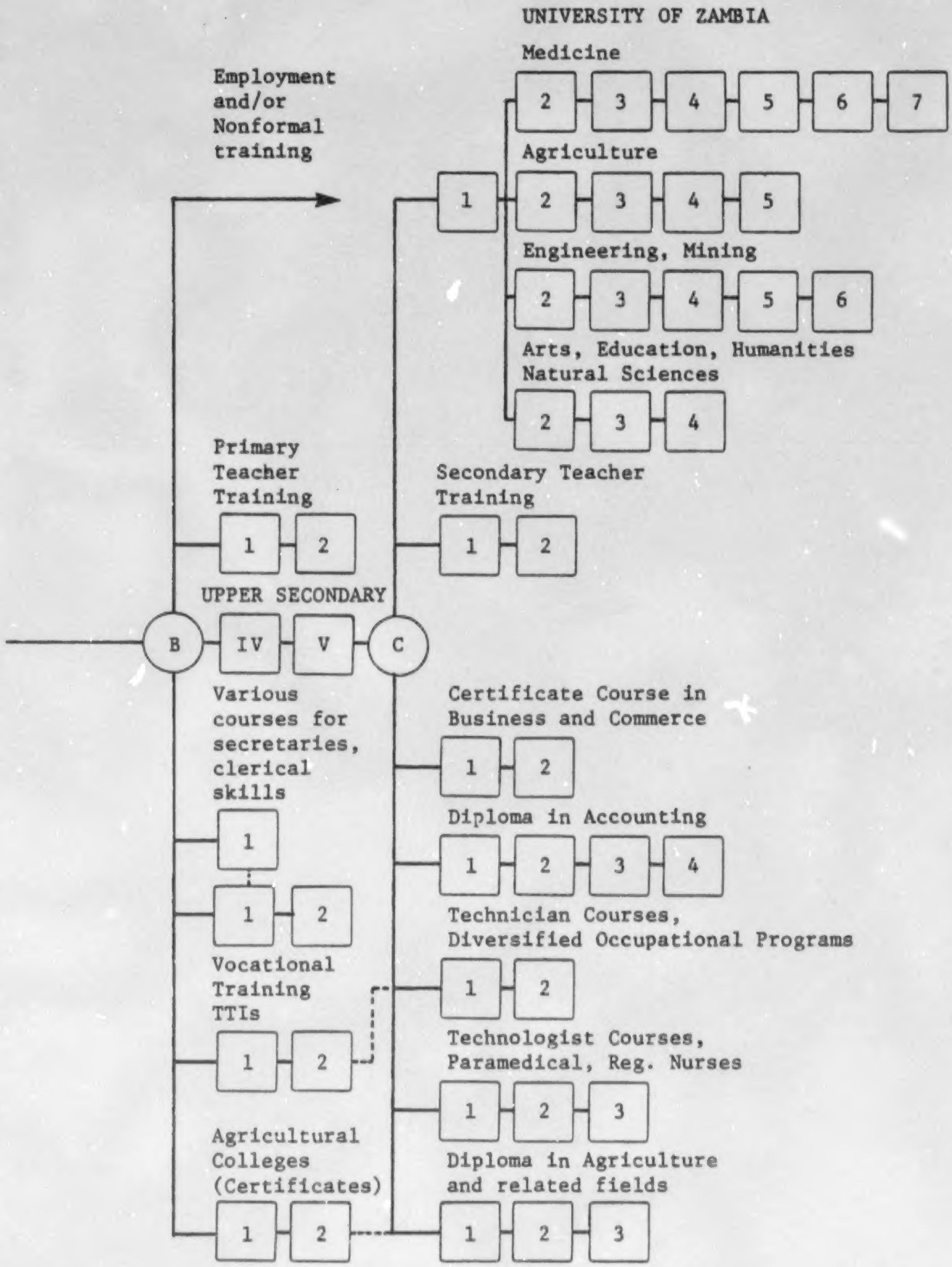
After their first year at the University of Zambia, some students who have taken the Social Sciences Foundation course join the Faculty of

Figure 23a

STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA


PRIMARY
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
A
LOWER SECONDARY
I
II
III
(Grades)
(Forms)
Employment and/or
Nonformal training
Adult Education
National Service
Zambian Youth Service

A - Grade 7 Composite Examination
B - Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination
C - Cambridge Overseas School Certificate
(administered and conducted by MOE)


UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
Medicine
Employment and/or Nonformal training
Agriculture
Engineering, Mining
Arts, Education, Humanities Natural Sciences
Primary Teacher Training
Secondary Teacher Training
UPPER SECONDARY
B
IV
V
C
Various courses for secretaries, clerical skills
Certificate Course in Business and Commerce
Diploma in Accounting
Technician Courses, Diversified Occupational Programs
Vocational Training TTIs
Technologist Courses, Paramedical, Reg. Nurses
Agricultural Colleges (Certificates)
Diploma in Agriculture and related fields

Education to be trained as secondary school teachers. Most of these students prepare for civics as one of the two subjects which they will later teach in secondary schools. During their three years in the Faculty of Education, the students take advanced courses in economics, history, political science, sociology, psychology, and education. At the same time, the students who choose civics as one of their "teaching" subjects are given instructions and practical drill in methods of teaching civics to secondary school students.

Teaching of Civics

Civics is essentially a local subject inasmuch as it deals with the history, politics, economics, social trends, and culture of a people in a particular country. Therefore, a teacher needs to be acquainted with virtually all aspects of Zambia's past, present, and future trends in order to teach any topic in civics with confidence.

Although the tenth-grade civics curriculum mainly features international issues,[15] the teacher needs to know; for example, that Zambia was a British colony, that it became independent in 1964, that it is surrounded by minority racist regimes, that its main source of foreign exchange is copper, and that it had only one political leader during the first 15 years after it became politically independent. The interdisciplinary quality of civics has made it difficult for educationists to formulate a syllabus that would cover all the aspects of the subject, for such a syllabus would cover many elements taught in other social science subjects. The local nature of the subject calls for the use of local teachers who have not only read about life in Zambia but actually lived it. The dynamic nature of the subject makes the use of textbooks alone inadequate. Hence radio, television, newspapers, public pronouncements by the national leaders, and out-of-school projects form an important part of the teaching of civics, not only to the schoolchildren but also to ordinary citizens.[16]

Civics is taught only at the junior secondary level. However, consideration was given recently to the question of whether the university should continue training teachers to teach civics at this level, since the university is mainly concerned with preparing teachers for the senior secondary level. (Nkrumah Teachers' College also trains teachers for the junior secondary level.[17]) There are also plans to replace civics with required political education courses at each grade level. It is hoped that civics will be introduced at the senior secondary level in the near future and that it will be one of the core subjects in the curriculum.[18] For the time being, however, the University of Zambia has decided to suspend the civics education program until the Ministry of Education clarifies the future of civics in schools.

The civics education program at the university will be replaced by an economics education program for the following reasons:

--The urgent need for economics teachers in secondary schools at the senior level.[19]

--The need for clarity concerning the extension of the civics program to the senior levels.

--Uncertainty about the future of civics in secondary schools, since this subject may be replaced by a program of political education.[20]

Like all newly independent countries, Zambia needs school programs designed to promote national consciousness, patriotism, and discipline. The civics curriculum in Zambia is perhaps the major formal instrument of citizenship education. An examination of the program reveals its nationalistic outlook, which is reflected in the emphasis placed on such nationalistic values as "Zambian humanism" and "participatory democracy." The contents of the program also tend to be very selective, with a major focus on acquainting young citizens with the nation's past and present order and desired future. Students are taught how to salute the national flag and how to sing the national anthem and certain patriotic songs as well as to honor heroes and national holidays. These values, symbols, and events are important in the overall school curriculum, because without them the ideal of a united and coherent nation could not be attained.

Despite the fact that civics is only taught at the junior levels, it is a very important subject in the Zambian school system because it deals not only with knowledge but also with development-oriented attitudes, values, and skills. These are intended to motivate and help graduates to behave in constructive ways in building up a new nation composed of citizens who not only identify with but also take an active part in the civic affairs of their nation.

International Perspectives

Since the school system and curriculum in Zambia are modeled after the British system, schools follow the Cambridge Syndicate Syllabus. The fact that at the end of senior secondary school students must take examinations that are designed and scored by Cambridge strongly influences decisions about courses offered and content stressed.

This factor aside, foreign ideologies--including the study of Marxist, capitalist, and communist systems--are part of the curricula at university and secondary schools. The study of international organizations and agencies also forms an important part of the civics curriculum. Such topics as the world market, the Commonwealth, the United Nations Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Council for International Copper Exporting Countries (CIPEC), the Peace Corps, the Canadian Voluntary Organization, and Voluntary Service Overseas are taught in relation to their history, goals, and relationships to Zambia. A world problems course is part of the civics curriculum, and students are encouraged to formulate hypotheses and solutions to such problems as hunger in the world, the population explosion, wars, cold, pollution, and the economic gap between the rich and poor nations. These topics lead to the study of foreign policies and governments and of the effects of certain policies on the world community, and in particular on Zambia. By studying such issues as the apartheid policies of South Africa and the human rights campaigns launched by the United States, students will have gained a comparative perspective of governments, communities, and economic and social policies by the end of their academic careers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 23

1. C. Gertzel, *The Political Process in Zambia: Documents and Readings* (University of Zambia, 1973), p. 2.

2. C. Elliot, ed., *Constraints on the Economic Development of Zambia* (Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3.

3. C. Gertzel, *The Political Process*, p. 3.

4. United National Independence Party, *National Policies for the Next Decade, 1974-1984* (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1973), p. 28.

5. J. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 7, xii.

6. C. Gertzel, *The Political Process*, p. i.

7. A.K. Tiberondwa, "Modernising African Traditional Education," *UNIP Youth Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1976).

8. Zambia has a one-party system of government. The constitution allows for free elections to be held every five years to choose the national government. The people are also free to criticize the government and to offer alternative solutions to problems.

9. Participatory democracy allows full participation on the part of the citizens in state affairs as well as in the effective running of their own affairs. It postulates free elections at village/section and ward as well as district and national levels and postulates government in accordance with the will of the people, with the corollary that a government can be removed from power if it loses the support of the country.

10. "Social studies" as a subject is taught only in the elementary (primary) schools. In the first two years of primary education, social studies is taught together with languages. In the next five years of primary education (grade 3 to grade 7) it is taught as an interdisciplinary subject combining history, geography, and political studies. In secondary schools (standard 8 to standard 12), social studies per se does not exist as a traditional subject. Instead, a new compulsory subject called civics, distinct from history and geography, is taught to all pupils up to standard 10. Civics aims at making the pupils effective citizens of Zambia. Sometimes it is referred to as political education.

11. The Bill of Rights is the section in the Zambia constitution which spells out the rights and freedoms of individuals in Zambia.

12. "Zambian humanism" is a statement of philosophical theory on the meaning of human existence (Kaunda 1974, p. 1). Zambian humanism, as a way of life, puts man at the center of every activity in society. Humanism does not believe in the exploitation of man but rather in the dignity and equality of man.

13. University of Zambia School of Education records, 1974-1979. Figures for 1978-1979 are subject to satisfactory examination performance.

14. University of Zambia, *School of Education Handbook, 1978-79*, p. 89.

15. The Form 3 (standard 10) civics syllabus deals with Zambia's relationships with the international community and with world issues and problems.

16. Out-of-school projects include such student-centered activities as visits to the National Assembly and other government institutions so that students can experience what actually goes on and interview people involved with various activities in the country.

17. Nkrumah Teachers' College is a two-year "junior" college which trains teachers for secondary schools. It is responsible only for training teachers who later teach social science subjects, civics, commerce, art, and industrial arts. The college is affiliated with the University of Zambia through the Teachers' College Associateship Unit. Normally, diplomates from this college teach up to standard 10 (junior secondary classes). The higher secondary classes are taught by teachers holding university degrees.

18. L.A. Sikwibele, "Civics as a Major University Subject: Need for Rethinking," *Educational Front* 1, no. 2 (February 1977).

19. The teaching of economics in secondary schools was introduced very recently. Few schools offer the program, and there are very few, if any, teachers trained to teach the subject at the senior secondary level. Hence the university's decision to introduce an economics education program.

20. The political education program was introduced by the ruling party, the United National Independence party, in 1975. The program is intended for all levels of education and all sectors of the community and aims basically to develop competent citizens. The program has not yet been implemented, but it may eventually replace civics since so much of the content will be similar.

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Related Resources in the ERIC System

The resources described in this section have been entered into the ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) system. Each is identified by a six-digit number and two letters: "EJ" for journal articles, "ED" for other documents.

If you want to read a document with an ED number, check to see whether your local library or instructional media center subscribes to the ERIC microfiche collection. (For a list of libraries in your area that subscribe to the ERIC system, write to ERIC/ChESS, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.)

If an ERIC collection is not accessible, or if you want a personal copy of the document in either microfiche (MF) or paper copy (PC), write to ERIC Document Reproduction Services (EDRS), Computer Microfilm International Corporation, P.O. Box 190, Arlington, Virginia. All orders must be accompanied by payment in full, including prepaid postage. Prices (correct as of December 1, 1979) are cited for each ED document. (Note that for some documents paper copies are either not available or must be ordered from the publisher or distributor instead of from EDRS.)

If your local library does not have a journal article that you want, you may write for one or more reprints to University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. The following information is needed: title of periodical or journal, title of article, author's name, date of issue, volume number, issue number, and page numbers. All orders must be accompanied by payment in full, plus postage.

Brook, Diane L. *Some Aspects of Geography as a School Subject in Britain With Particular Reference to Two Schools in London*. Athens, Ga.,: Geography Curriculum Project, University of Georgia, 1977. ED 156 599. EDRS price: MF $0.83, PC $3.32; plus postage. Also available from Geography Curriculum Project, 107 Dudley Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 30602 (paperbound; 46 pp.; $1.25).

Observations of geography instruction in two high schools in London and research at the University of London Institute of Education provide the basis for this overview of precollege geography instuction in Britain. Because British secondary schools concentrate more on universal education, they are developing a curriculum which is similar to the U.S. comprehensive high school curriculum. Some significant differences remain, however, between educational practices and educational objectives in Britain and the United States. For example, geography in Britain is pursued as a separate discipline rather than an integral part of social studies; it can be a secondary school major subject rather than a one-year course of study; it emphasizes field work; and it is widely differentiated according to teacher and pupil ability. The author's conclusion is that geography in British schools is changing and that most changes are in the direction of U.S. public school geography.

Cochrane, Don, and David Williams. "Moral Education in Canadian Social Studies: A Modest Proposal." *History and Social Science Teacher* 13, no. 1 (February 1977), pp. 1-7. EJ 168 662.

The authors of this article contend that recent ideas and publications concerning values and moral education have had little impact on social studies teaching in Canada. The article provides eight suggestions for improving values education, including leadership from provincial ministers of education, development of a values education rationale, and improvement of teacher education and inservice education in values education.

Catterall, Calvin D., ed. *Psychology in the Schools in International Perspective*, vols. 1 and 2. Columbus, Ohio: International School Psychology, 1976-77. ED 147 199 and 147 257. EDRS price: MF $0.83 each, plus postage; PC not available from EDRS. Available from International School Psychology, 92 S. Dawson Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43209 (paperbound; 258 pp. and 253 pp.; $7.50 per volume).

These volumes are part of a series which examines actual and potential contributions of psychology toward solving problems of the world's schools. The first volume contains articles written by school psychologists from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, West Germany, Sweden, Pakistan, Norway, Denmark, Austria, and England. Volume 2 presents information about Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, Ireland, Israel, Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico, South Africa, Switzerland, and Turkey. Each chapter describes ways in which psychology is applied in schools in the author's country, traces the background of school psychological services, reviews the training of psychological personnel, and predicts future needs in school psychology. The series was compiled in response to a need for international perspectives on practical psychology which was expressed at the International Colloquium in School Psychology, held in Munich in July 1975.

"Contribution of Economics to General Education, The." *Economics* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1978), pp. 59-63. EJ 186 028.

This is the report of an ad hoc committee on the contribution of economics study to the British secondary curriculum. It includes arguments for increasing economics study. General education aspects, skills development, development of conceptual knowledge, selection of content, attitudes, and learning experiences are also discussed.

Dima, Nicholas. "University Education in Eastern Europe: The Case of Geography in Romania." *Journal of Geography* 77, no. 4 (April/May 1978), pp. 149-151. EJ 182 348.

This article describes the geography curriculum at the University of Bucharest, Rumania, where the educational program is controlled by the Communist party. The instructional approach is practical and emphasizes factual learning. It is also highly ideological and strongly atheistic. Course work is structured, and there are no student options or electives.

Dumas, Wayne, and William B. Lee. "Social Studies in French Schools." *History Teacher* 11, no. 3 (May 1978), pp. 401-411. EJ 180 276.

This article examines current educational goals, curricula, and methodology of French social studies education. The authors discuss the influences of the student riots of 1968 and consider what effect these reforms will have on the future of French education.

"Exercise Effective Leadership in the Study of Theory." *Chinese Education* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 26-30. EJ 166 705.

This article describes one aspect of education in the People's Republic of China; namely, that in order to promote the study of theory in revolutionary cadre training schools, emphasis is on acknowledging the significance of Marxist theory. Tutoring and class schedules are designed to foster conscientious study. Physical labor is part of the learning process.

Farmerie, Samuel. "The Social Studies and Education of a New Communist Man in Yugoslavia." *Social Studies Journal* 8 (Spring 1979), pp. 22-25. EJ 193 294.

The author of this article explores the role of the social studies in Yugoslavia's nation-building process, discusses integration of social goals into all curriculum areas, and considers specific social studies goals, teacher training, instructional materials, and curriculum.

Fletcher, Laadan. "Comparative Education: A Question of Identity." *Comparative Education Review* 18, no. 3 (October 1974), pp. 348-353. EJ 105 287.

This article seeks to resolve the problem of identity from which comparative studies has seemed to suffer.

Gallagher, Paul. "Rethinking the Social Studies Curriculum." *History and Social Science Teacher* 14, no. 1 (Fall 1978), pp. 24-28. EJ 191 431.

The author discusses Canadian national unity and the social studies curriculum. He suggests that Canada should be regarded as a political whole composed of many cultures, and that new K-12 social studies curriculum which includes a comprehensive program in Canadian citizenship is needed.

Gillmor, Desmond A. "Geographic Education in the Republic of Ireland." *Journal of Geography* 77, no. 3 (March 1978), pp. 103-108. EJ 178 610.

This article reviews the history, content, and trends in geography teaching and research in Ireland from the 19th century to the present. All educational levels and geographic societies are described.

Graves, Norman J. *Geography in Education*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1975. ED 148 650. Not available from EDRS. Available from Humanities Press, Inc., Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 07716 (paperbound $6.25, hardbound $15.00; 232 pp.).

The book reviews the historical development of geography as a discipline and discusses the current status of geography teaching in British schools.

Kiray, Mubeccel B. "Teaching in Developing Countries: The Case of Turkey." *International Social Science Journal* 31, no. 1 (1979), pp. 40-48. EJ 203 886.

This article analyzes the state of the social sciences and social science teaching in developing nations, particularly Turkey. Topics discussed include demands for research workers, social change, the relationship between knowledge and analysis, resistance to new teaching methods within traditional universities, and differences between historical and deterministic interpretations of society.

Lavrikov, I.A. "Improving the Professional Training of Economists." *Soviet Education* 20, no. 6 (April 1978), pp. 56-68. EJ 186 017.

The author explains that professional economic education in Russia will require a refurbishing of the scientific, methodological, and educative foundations of education and an accelerated development of economic institutes and departments.

Mehlinger, Howard D., and Jan L. Tucker, eds. *Social Studies in Other Nations*. NCSS Bulletin no. 60. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1979. ED 174 540. EDRS price: MF $0.83, PC $6.01; plus postage. Also available from National Council for the Social Studies, 2030 M St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (paperbound; 112 pp.; $7.82).

This book describes social studies programs, citizenship education, and major social studies issues in the Federal Republic of Germany, Thailand, Japan, Nigeria, England, and the United States. The first chapter considers the transnational nature of the social studies, traces the development of social studies, and discusses efforts and need to "internationalize" social studies in the United States. The chapter on Germany discusses the organization of the public schools and political education in postwar Germany. Social change and institutional reform are major issues. The report on Thailand deals with present curriculum reform. Major issues are confusion over goals, the status of social studies, methods of teaching social studies, and the status of Thai culture. The chapter on Japan describes the present course of study and notes major issues of curriculum revision, teaching strategies, interdisciplinary and global approaches, rapid growth, and professional diversity. Nigeria is discussed in terms of changes in curriculum, teacher training, and beliefs about social studies since independence in 1960. Major issues are conflicts between social scientists and social studies educators, the lack of clear standards for educators, the force of tradition, and inadequate resource materials. The report on England focuses on the structure of the educational and examination system, with emphasis on cultural pluralism, decentralized decision making, and multiethnic education. The final report on the United States discusses global challenges.

Mpekesa, Bongoy. "Role and Status of Economics in Zaire: A Critical Survey." *International Social Science Journal* 30, no. 1 (1978), pp. 181-190. EJ 182 310.

The author of this article believes that economic education and research in Zaire should relate the needs of a developing nation, and that Zairian authorities must devote more financial and human resources to development research.

Nichols, W.T., "Impressions of Social Studies in Isreal." *Social Studies Journal* 8 (Spring 1979), pp. 32-38. EJ 193 297.

This article characterizes the separate educational systems of Arabs and Jews in Israel, with emphasis on social studies content of geography, history, and civics.

Rowley, Charles D. "Introducing the Social Sciences to Papua New Guinea." *International Social Science Journal* 31, no. 1 (1978), pp. 98-113. EJ 203 887.

This is a discussion of problems related to teaching social sciences in Papua New Guinea, a country which recently established a national university after nearly a century of colonial rule. The author concludes that the best social science education for developed and developing nations emphasizes a broadening of perspective and a greater relevance to the human predicament.

Searles, John E. "Social Studies in Brazil." *Social Studies Journal* 8 (Spring 1979), pp. 26-28. EJ 193 295.

This article discusses the role of social studies in transmitting the cultural heritage of Brazil. It includes descriptions of Brazilian culture and the educational structure.

Social Sciences in Asia, vols. 1, 2, and 3. Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences, nos. 32, 33, and 35. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1976-77. ED 156 571, 156 572, 156 573. Not available from EDRS. Available from Unipub, Box 433, Murray Hill Station, New York, N.Y. 10016 (paperbound; vol. 1, 56 pp., $2.65; vol. 2, 72 pp., $2.65; vol. 3, 113 pp., $5.25).

These volumes are part of a series which provides overviews of social science research and teaching in UNESCO member nations. Volume 1 focuses on Bangladesh, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Thailand. Volume 2 deals with Afghanistan, Japan, Indonesia, Korea, and Nepal. The third volume is devoted to Burma, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Singapore. For each nation, the following factors are described: history of social studies activity, institutional framework, major research interests, curriculum development, future trends, and perceived benefits from regional and international cooperation.

Susskind, Jacob L. "Social Studies Education in India." *Social Studies* Journal 8 (Spring 1978), pp. 29-31. EJ 193 296.

This review of objectives, content, and problems of social studies education in India concludes that social studies is a relatively new component of the curriculum and that there is little uniformity in its content and methods from state to state.

Volkov, F.M. "Higher Social Science Education in the USSR." *International Social Science Journal* 31, no. 1 (1979), pp. 130-37. EJ 203 890.

The author examines social science teaching in the Soviet Union and explains how it is related to technological advancement. Topics discussed include social progress, developments within the social sciences, political influences, teaching methods, and teacher characteristics.